# Daily Report

# East Europe

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10 March 1993

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*FBIS-EEU-93-045* *10 March 1993*

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## NATO Says Bosnia Plan Involving 8 Brigades 'Prepared'

*AU0903135793 Paris AFP in English 1322 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Bodo, Norway, March 9 (AFP)—NATO troops are poised to move quickly into Bosnia-Hercegovina if asked to take charge of a massive U.N. operation to enforce a peace plan there, NATO officials say.

Speaking during exercises of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation here this week, they said the troops could begin pulling the warring Serbs, Moslems and Croats from each other's throats within days of a U.N. Security Council go-ahead.

The officials, who asked not to be identified, said plans had already been prepared to separate the mainly Moslem Bosnian army and Serb troops in the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo within five days of the signature of a peace plan.

Within 30 days, according to the NATO plan already discussed in New York, the rival forces must be separated throughout Bosnia.

Within 45 days, they must have been dispersed into the various provinces where their particular ethnic group is in charge.

The NATO planners say the operation, the largest since the 16-member alliance was formed in 1949, would need eight or nine brigades—40,000 to 50,000 troops.

The U.N. force could comprise 5,000 troops each from France and Britain, and 10,000 to 15,000 each from the United States and Russia. The force could also include Canadians and Pakistanis.

Some experts say the NATO effort in Bosnia could be coordinated by the headquarters of NATO's new rapid reaction force, which is currently based at Bielefeld in Germany, but could be shifted to Bosnia.

NATO's supreme commander, U.S. General John Shalikashvili, told a press conference here that everything depended on a peace agreement being signed by all the warring parties.

Then, Shalikashvili said, the U.N. Security Council would have to take a formal decision to police the plan, which would divide the former Yugoslav republic into 10 semi-autonomous provinces.

He said the United Nations would be able to call on NATO's greatest strength, its integrated command and control structure, in enforcing the plan crafted by U.N. and E.C. envoys Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen.

Reginald Bartholomew, special U.S. envoy to the Yugoslavia peace conference, said Washington was "at this stage" excluding the despatch of American ground troops to Bosnia, but wanted to help enforce the settlement.

Russian General Sergei Pavlovich Seleznev, an observer at the NATO manoeuvres, was at the press conference with Shalikashvili, but he would not comment on the participation of Russian troops in the Bosnian operation.

But the NATO officials said the Russians could send their elite, multilingual "Spetsnaz" troops, who could easily fit into a NATO command structure without language problems.

The NATO plan lists three scenarios—all the parties to the Bosnian conflict sign and respect the peace plan; localised armed opposition breaks out; or the peace plan collapses throughout Bosnia.

In the second case, say the NATO planners, the peacekeepers would "meet force with force." They might, for instance, destroy an artillery position.

The third case, total collapse, is known as the "catastrophe scenario." In that case, the U.N. Security Council would have to give the NATO forces new orders, perhaps to quell the violence or withdraw.

Some NATO countries, particularly France, Britain and the United States, have stressed that the job of the peacekeeping operation is not to impose peace, but simply to maintain it once agreement has already been reached.

## Leaders, NATO Discuss Former Yugoslavia

*AU0903114+93 Tirana ATA in English 0917 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[ATA report: "From the Visit of NATO Military Delegation—Field Marshal Richard Vincent Arrives in Albania]

[Text] Tirana, March 9 (ATA)—The chairman of the NATO Military Committee, Field Marshal Richard Vincent, arrived today [as received] in Albania at the invitation of the chief of the Army General Staff, Lieutenant General Ilia Vasho.

Present to receive him and his group at the airport were the minister of defense, Safet Zhulali, the chief of the Army General Staff, Lieutent General Ilia Vasho, functionaries of the Ministry of Defense and military attaches accredited in Albania.

### Field Marshal Richard Vincent Pays Homage to the Martyrs Graves of the Nation

On March 8, before noon, the chairman of the NATO Military Committee, Field Marshal Ricard Vincent paid homage to the martyrs graves of the nation. He laid a wreath by the monument "Mother Albania."

### Talks at the Ministry of Defense

Talks were conducted on March 8 at noon, at the Ministry of Defense between the Albanian delegation, headed by Minister Safet Zhulali and the NATO delegation, headed by Field Marshal Richard Vincent.

After praising the cooperation between Albania and NATO, Minister Zhulali considered the visit of Field Marshal Vincent as a gesture of NATO's will for cooperation with the democratic Albania. "During a year," he said, "the democratic government has pursued in the field of defense an open policy with all the democratic states, especially with the neighbours. It has launched a profound reform to reform and restructure the Army, which inherited great shortcomings from the past.

"The goal of the Albanian policy of defense is to improve Albania's relations with the neighbours and build up mutual confidence with them. We have made efforts for cooperation and signed several bilateral military agreements." Regarding membership in NATO, Mr. Zhulali said that, alongside the relations and cooperation with the NATO structures and its member countries, it is important that Albania be granted the status of the observer and it is high time. Albania, he said, sees in NATO a powerful element, an element of security.

Field Marshal Richard Vincent said that this is his first visit abroad as chairman of the NATO military committee, a visit made at a very intensive moment for the alliance. Next week, NATO's secretary general, Manfred Woerner, will, himself visit Albania. After praising the democratic changes taking place in Albania, he said: "You represent a tone in which regional security is really an issue on the agenda. This requires challenges from all of us." Field Marshal Vincent, thanked for the cooperation between the Albanian fleet and the NATO forces assigned for the embargo on Serbia. "Just like you, we, too, are concerned about the situation in former Yugoslavia and the NATO states are engaged in implementing the UN plans in the region. For the time being we intend to halt conflict so that it does not extend to Kosovo and Macedonia." Further on he said: "The world knows we are paying a visit to Albania and are interested in your security. For the moment there is not any pact between us, but one should not doubt our support for your security, because that would be an offence for the Alliance, which values cooperation and such questions will not pass unnoticed.

### Working Visit of the NATO Military Delegation to the Army General Staff

On March 8 at noon, the NATO military delegation headed by Field Marshal Vincent held a working meeting at the Army General Staff. The meeting was also attended by the minister of defense, Safet Zhulali. Military attaches accredited in Albania were present, as well.

The chief of the Army General Staff, Lieutenant General Ilia Vasho, said that this visit testifies to a stable cooperation of Albania with NATO.

In the meeting, Field Marshal Vincent, after presenting problems of the program of cooperation between Albania and NATO, pointed to some of the near activities which will make possible further cooperation. "We have organized activities for NATO's supreme command to meet your demands. We devote attention to your participation in realizing the embargo and intensifying this operation. We will make our best to help you regarding your concern about security in the region. The NATO organization is rendering great contribution regarding the solution of problems in the region. If the UN requires, NATO will be ready to carry out its tasks. I don't think you are alone.

### From the Meeting Mr. Pjeter Arbnori with Field Marshal Vincent

"Democratic Albania", Mr.Arbnori, chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, said in the meeting with the chairman of the NATO Military Committee, Field Marshal Richard Vincent, "is a factor of peace and stability in the Balkan region. It does not threaten the others but tries to solve the inherited problems through peaceful means. From the dictatorship of Enver Hoxha we inherited only the bunkers and the psychosis that the USA, NATO and the Soviet Union hatch up plots and prepare for attacks against Albania. Our army is trained not to attack and launch aggressions but to defend the territorial integrity of the country.

Albania is the only country in Europe, where half of the population lives outside it, in their territories in Kosovo", Mr. Arbnori said further on. "We have constantly declared we are not for the change of borders, but we also

have never denied that we shall protect the rights of our brothers in Kosovo. We have also demanded from international organizations the installation of the blue helmets in Kosovo too in order to prevent a possible danger and to put an end to the ethnic cleansing the Serbian chauvinists are making. We hope that NATO will also help to prevent the spread of the conflict in Kosovo and put an end to that in Bosnia Hercegovina".

Field Marshal Vincent said that Albania merits the assistance of NATO and of the international community. We share your worry regarding the situation in Kosovo. The question of Kosovo is double, first it should not become more difficult but it should improve, second, we shall prevent the quick acts which may aggravate the situation. Belgrade has received strong warning signals. It is important that the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina does not extend towards the south. The NATO delegation in New York is waiting for the results of the talks on the solution of the conflict. "I think, Field Marshal Vincent said in conclusion," that Albania may cooperate with NATO not only in the military field but also in the political field. I am optimistic that through joint efforts establishment of peace in the Balkans will become a reality. We are trying to gain the lost time.

**From the Meksi-Vincent Meeting**

"Albania will support all the NATO actions in our region", Premier Aleksander Meksi said to the chairman of the NATO Military Committee, Field Marshall Richard Vincent, in the meeting he had at the Council of Minister's seat on March 8.

Mr. Meksi said that Albania is interested and confident that these visits serve peace and security in our region and broader. We have been and are convinced regarding the peaceful and defensive character of NATO. Your visit will create you a clear idea on Albania and will serve the consolidation of its relations with all the NATO structures.

Further on, Mr.Meksi reconfirmed the stand of Albania with regard to the tragic events in former Yugoslavia and the ethnic cleansing the Serbs are making in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The possible extension of the conflict towards the south, towards Kosovo and Macedonia is a real threat to Albania as well. For this, the Albanian premier demanded more efficient measures on the part of United Nations, NATO, Europe and other organizations to prevent a Balkan war.

**President Berisha Meets With Field Marshal Vincent**

On March 8 in the afternoon, the president of the Republic, Sali Berisha, received in the presidency the chairman of the NATO Military Committee, Field Marshal Richard Vincent, and the group accompanying him. The NATO senior militaryman brought to President Berisha the greetings of the general secretary of this organization Mr. Manfred Woerner.

Field Marshal Vincent said in the meeting that his visit to Albania will carry ahead the relations between NATO and Albania. He mentioned the numerous joint activities which lead to the consolidation of the Balkan security. The transformations taking part in Albania and in its army are supported by NATO which has even encouraged them.

President Berisha said to Mr. Vincent that "his visit to Albania is of a particular importance. First, it is the visit of the chairman of the NATO Military Committee in Albania and as such it is an important event in the relations of cooperation of Albania with NATO. I have also the pleasure", said Mr. Berisha, "to welcome you as chief of the defence staff of Great Britain, which Albania has had an ally during war and now in freedom. British militarymen have bravely fought side by side with Albanians for the freedom of Albania. Your visit in Albania, as the first visit to a NATO nonmember country, shows the great importance this Alliance attaches to the tragic events in the Balkan region. As you know, Albania is one of those countries making efforts to set up a democratic society, based on the same values where the NATO member countries have also been based upon. Albania highly values the decisive role the Alliance has played for the peace and security of Western democracy. It notes with pleasure how today, after the Iron Curtain is lifted, the Alliance is undertaking new roles and dimensions which may serve and preserve even more those basic principles for which it was set up.

The situation in the Balkans, as you see, is very grave. The last dictatorship in the continent is challenging old Europe and the democratic world. Despite the so far efforts by the international community, Serbian barbarisms in Bosnia are increasingly continuing. We think that only NATO is that powerful organization which may prevent the spread of the conflict. According to our opinion, these two moments have a special importance, because in the context of the strategy of creating a big Serbia, Milosevic envisages the spread of the conflict in Kosovo and Macedonia, as the last stage of the creation of big Serbia. Therefore, we think that Kosovo's control by the UN forces and NATO would be an important act to refrain and stop the spread of the conflict in the south. The statements of President Clinton, Mr. Berisha continued further on, in this regard are promising and the readiness of NATO to undertake a more important and active role in the region, as the NATO general secretary has repeatedly said, is encouraging for the solution of the Balkan crisis.

**Press Conference in the Army Cultural Center**

The Ministry of Defence organized a press conference in the Army Cultural Center with reporters from the central press organs, ATA, RTV.

At the beginning Field Marshal Richard Vincent stressed the importance of the visit of the high-ranking NATO delegation in Albania. He spoke about NATO as a political and military organization and mentioned its

activities where our country has also participated. "My visit", he said, "is taking place at the proper time and it will be followed by the visit of the NATO general secretary, Mr. Manfred Woerner". "I have been working as a militaryman during the cold war and three years ago I did not even think of coming to visit Albania one day. I will be greatly pleased if I make my contribution.

Then, the minister of defence, Safet Zhulali, and Mr. Vincent answered the questions of reporters on the importance of the NATO delegation in Albania, the role of the Alliance in Europe, on the embargo, etc.

Asked by an ATA reporter regarding the assistance NATO will give to Albania in case of an imposed war, Field Marshal Vincent said: "NATO will act if it will have the mandate of the UN. This depends on the United Nations".

## Socialist Party Demands Withdrawal of Government

*AU0903162993 Tirana ATA in English 1128 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Tirana, March 9 (ATA)—In the press conference of March 8, the Chairman of the Socialist Party Fatos Nano repeated, in the name of the party he leads, the demand for the withdrawal of the government of Meksi.

The demand is based on a statement of the presidency of this party, which says that the statement of Fatos Nano is made in the name of the party and this demand is a democratic obligation and not made for career-seeking aims and for acts of instability. With this demand, the Socialist Party claims to be representing the dissatisfaction of the people and their opinion expressed in socialist rallies in districts, where the socialist chairman himself has submitted speeches.

The statement says that we know the great difficulties of the country and the great tasks the government is facing. We have never claimed that this situation can be overcome in a matter of months. In reply to a question he said that the valuations made by the IMF, EBRD [European Bank of Reconstruction and Development], and other organizations regarding the application of the economic reform in Albania are fictitious and unilateral, although we support the activity of these organizations. He did not give a straight answer to a question regarding the possible support of this demand of the Socialist Party for the withdrawal of the government from other political forces. He said: We have consulted with them general questions, but we have not discussed such a thing.

Nano considered the number of people actually on assistance as a result of the reform, as a mass political cleansing.

He said: Local government has been totally blocked. Nano also added that it is not the economic poverty at home a political factor which supports the demand of the Socialist Party for the government's withdrawal, but there are other factors which he did not mention.

When a reporter of ZERI I POPULLIT asked which will be the stand of the Socialist Party if the government does not withdraw, Mr. Nano said: Earlier elections will be a solution. When asked about a statement he made in diaspora that I have Hoxha's bust in my heart, Nano recalled on this occasion that they in the diaspora had advised him that Albanians should not insult one another. Regarding the fact that ZERI I POPULLIT, organ of the Socialist Party, carries offenses for the government, accusing it as fascist, Mr. Nano stated: We consider fascist the acts of this government.

In this conference, Mr. Nano did not present a new stand with regard to the chairman of the Socialist Party of Italy, B. Craxi, accused of corruption. We have not made anyone member of honour of our party, he said, voicing his confidence that Craxi will not be tried.

## PD Rejects Appeal for Withdrawal

*AU1003081093 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Through its chairman Eduard Selami, the Democratic Party [PD] turned down as unjustifiable the socialists' request for withdrawal of the government. Mr. Selami stressed this in the PD branch meeting of Berat District.

Speaking at the rally, he explained in detail the request to hold early elections. He stressed that the request in question is unjustifiable for the simple reason that it is done by persons and political forces who have received this chance before, as they had been in power. A year ago the people overthrew them. It is not the fault of the people and less ours if they do not like the results. In a paradoxical way, Nano asked for new early elections, because he and others see the positive results that are already known not only by the Albanians but also by international institutions, such as the World Bank, the IMF, and various democratic governments. Another reason for this absurd request is the fact that in the course of the reform, the democratic government is pointing out the financial scandals, for which we think that the former communist government bears a specific responsibility. Shocked by these financial scandals, they are doing their utmost to politically destabilize the situation and hide speculation and corruption.

Later Mr. Selami emphasized the course of the reform, which he considered successful. We are bringing about what we promised, or better to say our promises have entered the road of solution. From this viewpoint we have considered the bill on property, whose articles are all anticipated in the PD program, a topic on which more than 60 percent of the Albanian electorate voted. That is why we are against a referendum, not because we are afraid of a confrontation with the broad public, but because this has already been voted on once. It does not affect the interests of the majority, as Nano and ZERI I

POPULLIT pretend, but affects only the interests of the former communists, who unjustly profit from properties, villas, shops, etc.

Mr. Selami continued by explaining the relations among the coalition parties that are governing today, insisting on the implementation and profit of this coalition.

### Deputies Agree To Discuss Several Bills

*AU0903164393 Tirana ATA in English 1108 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Tirana, March 9 (ATA)—Yesterday afternoon, the People's Assembly started proceedings with the examination of the work program for the current week. The deputies agreed to discuss some draft-laws, such as that on the state budget and statistics, the draft-law to defend the fund of medical herbs, that on ratifying an agreement between the Republic of Albania and the Italian Republic for the division of the continental shelf, the draft-law on ratifying an agreement between Albania and Hungary to eliminate double taxes, and the draft-law on a change to the Law on Obligatory Military Service.

Deputy Namik Dokle demanded that the commission on the corruption in the bank immediately engage in work. The deputy Petrit Kalakula demanded that the draft-law on returning properties to their former owners be immediately put on the agenda. He also expressed the opinion that the commission on the fight against corruption in the bank begins with the discovery of those responsible for the foreign debt of the Albanian state. Deputy P. Keko demanded that the draft- law on the press be included on the agenda.

The People's Assembly will start proceedings today before noon.

### Zhelev, EC Ambassadors Mark EC Association

*AU0903132293 Sofia BTA in English 1249 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Sofia, March 9 (BTA)—Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev gave dinner to the ambassadors of the 12 European Community member-countries on the occasion of Bulgaria's association with the EC at the Boyana Residence today.

Interviewed by a BTA reporter, President Zhelev said that Bulgaria's association with the EC was a very important event as this would give it access to the EC markets and technology. "It is another question to what extent these possibilities will be used, but in any case we are offered a good opportunity to and I think that it will make our transition to a market economy easier," the president said.

Invited to comment on the accusations of "re-communization" made against him, President Zhelev said: "If Bulgaria's admission to the Council of Europe is a restoration of communism, if its association with the EC is restoration, if its joining the European Free Trade Association in two weeks' time is restoration, if choosing Bulgaria of all other East European countries to hold EUROMIL's [European Association of Military-Professional Organizations] regular session is restoration, then I should give the meaning of this term a serious thinking. To say nothing of all other things that concern the country's internal affairs: the land restitution which the government seeks to complete and privatization, which got moving though with difficulty. These are genuine reforms. It is people who are out of the game that talk about restoration and re- communization," the president said. He added that maybe he would answer the charges in an interview these days.

### Zhelev Addresses Euromil Meeting in Sofia

*AU0903174993 Sofia BTA in English 1632 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Sofia, March 9 (BTA)—A two-day session of the Presidium of the European Organization of Military Associations (Euromil) opened here today under the patronage of Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev. The session will discuss problems concerning the social security of the members of the Armed Forces in Europe and the activities of the organization. The session is chaired by Euromil President Colonel Jens Rotbol and hosted by the Bulgarian Rakovski Officers League.

In his speech at the opening of the session President Zhelyu Zhelev dwelled on the situation in the Balkans and stressed Bulgaria's stand that not a single country of this region should interfere in the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. Such an interference may result in a new Balkan war, President Zhelev said. The president expressed his belief that cooperation among the military in Europe will continue to enhance security and stability on this continent.

The participants in the session were acquainted with the progress of the reform in the Bulgarian Army by Defence Minister Valentia Aleksandrov.

The opening of the session was attended by Deputy Prime Minister Evgeni Matinchev; Mr. Nikolay Slatinski, chairman of the Parliamentary National Security Committee; Army General Lyuben Petrov, chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian Army; and Mr. Kosta Bogatsevski, chief secretary of the Ministry of the Interior.

The organization of members of the Armed Forces of Portugal is expected to become a member of Euromil at the session.

### Aleksandrov Confirms Noninterference in Balkans

*AU1003111093 Sofia BTA in English 1035 GMT 10 Mar 93*

[Text] Sofia, March 10 (BTA)—Bulgaria will not interfere in a possible military conflict in the Balkans but I would like to state that if necessary the Bulgarian Army is fully capable of defending the borders of this country, Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov says in an interview for STANDART NEWS.

Asked how Bulgaria would react if the conflict in the former Yugoslavia spreads to Macedonia, the defense minister categorically states: "War will not break out in Macedonia, but if hostilities start there I do not see why Bulgaria should interfere, there are no grounds for this" Mr. Valentin Aleksandrov said. "The dispute over the Muslims in Tetovo, Velusina and Bitola is a dispute between Skopje and Tirana. This also refers to the conflict over the Albanian minority - it is for Skopje and Tirana to settle these problems," the Bulgarian defense minister said. According to him, if a military conflict breaks out in Macedonia, a much more important problem for Bulgaria would be the refugees fleeing to the Bulgarian border.

Asked why he was so categorical Defense Minister Aleksandrov says that it would be naive to think the Bulgarians would be given a hearty welcome in Macedonia and recalls the events in 1941 when the Bulgarian Army occupied Macedonia.

In connection with the lecture Mr. Valentin Aleksandrov read at the General Staff Academy in Russia during his recent visit to Moscow in which he launched the idea that the Danubian countries should establish a collective defence, the defense minister explains that the withdrawal of the great powers from direct military presence in the Danubian region is a fact. A strategic vacuum has emerged which should be filled in and this can be done only by the Danubian countries through the establishment of the closest possible contacts between their general staffs and defense ministries, Mr. Valentin Aleksandrov believes. According to him, if the Danubian countries do not solve their problems on their own they will continue to be a target of "constant advice, some of

which quite meaningless." The continuing conflict in Bosnia shows the inefficiency of the present European structures, the Bulgarian defense minister adds. At the same time he points out that his idea is not part of Bulgaria's official military doctrine.

Defense Minister Aleksandrov expresses the opinion that Germany is not in a state or does not wish to play a leading role in the Danubian basin. If Ukraine succeeds in establishing itself as a medium power and separates Russia from the Danubian delta this would result in the isolation of "a powerful factor of world influence." Then there would remain France, which, however, is too far away, and the U.S.which has interests in the Balkans." According to Mr. Aleksandrov, Russia's strategic interests are changing and gravitating towards the region of the Far East and at strategic level in the U.S. it is believed that the main economic collision will be in the East. "This would leave us alone and close to Turkey which is becoming ever more powerful from the military and political point of view," Mr. Valentin Aleksandrov says.

Dwelling on the recent criticisms that Bulgaria is committing itself excessively to Turkey from the military point of view, Mr. Valentin Aleksandrov expresses the opinion that the complicated situation in the Balkans makes it impossible for this country to maintain equally good relations with all its neighbours. Bulgaria should decide who its strategic partner should be, the defense minister said and expressed his personal view that this country's future lies along the line Budapest-Vienna-Munich. His arguments are that the Danubian region is a "distinct, powerful and undeveloped geographical region the population of which is well-disposed to each other and united by deep historical and political links."

## SDS Council Examines Internal Conflicts

*AU0903204793 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Following today's regular meeting of the National Coordinating Council of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces], the leaders of the parties and organizations in the SDS coalition held a special meeting that, in the participants' own words, was especially important for the coalitions' future. The leaders examined certain conflicts between members and the contradictions and mutual accusations between Filip Dimitrov [chairman of SDS National Coordinating Council] and Stoyan Ganev [leader of United Christian Democratic Center].

The party chairman looked through the documents contained in Stoyan Ganev's so-called yellow envelope and decided that the materials should be (?submitted) to the forthcoming SDS national conference.

Stoyan Ganev and Filip Dimitrov told journalists that they retracted their mutual accusations, which according to their words were due to insinuations made by enemies of the SDS.

At today's meeting, the SDS National Coordinating Council also considered the issue of lifting the suspension of the memberships of the Independent Human Rights Association and Christian Democratic Union. However, the result of the vote taken did not restore them as equal members of the SDS coalition. The National Coordinating Council also confirmed the choice of Panayot Denev as chief editor of the DEMOKRATSIYA daily.

The SDS leaders protested against certain statements made by the Rakovski Officers Legion. Civic order is not defended by military men's organizations, Filip Dimitrov stated in conclusion.

## Need for Consolidation Stressed

*AU1003073793 Sofia BTA in English 2205 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Evgeniya Drumeva report: "Days Before SDS National Forum, Leaders Stress Need To Consolidate"]

[Text] Sofia, March 9 (BTA)—After an unusually long eight-hour meeting of the central leadership, leaders of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) told reporters the essential thing now was to consolidate the anti-communist coalition and overcome internal distrust and doubts. The coalition's national conference will start in three days.

According to leaked information, the participants in the meeting devoted half their time to studying the documents the leader of the SDS-affiliated United Christian Democratic Centre, former foreign minister in the SDS cabinet, Stoyan Ganev, recently handed to the interior minister. As early as at the end of last year Mr. Ganev mentioned documents discrediting well-known political figures. The press later ran stories, some of which quoted Mr. Ganev as saying there were documents implicating SDS leader and former Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov in cooperation with the former political police. Mr. Ganev himself denies having named names. He has explained his reserved and often obscure statements with the still effective ban to disclose names and data on operatives and collaborators of the Secret Services, including the former Political Police. Such data is a state secret, under Bulgarian law.

The SDS leadership responded sharply to Mr. Ganev's statements and asked him to provide explanations. The SDS daily DEMOKRATSIYA also leveled charges at Mr. Ganev.

Mr. Ganev and Mr. Dimitrov exchanged strong-worded recriminations at a time of a heated controversy over whether the SDS hardline leadership and Mr. Dimitrov himself are not partly to blame for the coalition's ouster from office.

According to participants in today's meeting, for the first time today, Mr. Ganev spoke and presented documents

on the case to leaders of SDS-affiliated parties. Yet no one committed himself to disclosing information about their content.

At the regular press conference after the meeting Mr. Stoyan Ganev said that he never doubted that Filip Dimitrov was an anti-communist and that all reports in the press are part of the campaign against the SDS aimed at sowing disunity in the coalition. "All we (the leaders of the SDS) can fall victims to those who cannot become reconciled with the existence of the SDS, Mr. Stoyan Ganev said.

Though when speaking to the press all leaders of the SDS stressed that what is most important now is to consolidate the coalition, it is as yet unknown whether today's disclosures will lead to personnel changes in the SDS.

## BSP Favors Socially Oriented Market Economy

*AU0903175193 Sofia BTA in English 1626 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Sofia, March 9 (BTA)—The Socialist Party sees economic policy as one of the major areas in which national consensus should be sought, Doncho Konakchiev of the top leadership of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) told a regular BSP press conference today.

Late last week the DUMA daily of the BSP published "Perspective for Bulgaria," a draft of a new party document to be adopted at the BSP national conference in late March. The document gives prominence to economic problems. "Bulgarian Socialists see as an immediate task macroeconomic stabilization, which should stop the drop in production, the growth in inflation and unemployment and the mass impoverishment of the population," says the document. The BSP declares itself in favour of a socially-oriented market economy. Today Doncho Konakchiev elaborated on several aspects of the Socialists' views on the socially-oriented market economy as a state-regulated economy combining different forms of ownership. The socialists give priority to the drop in production, economic adjustment, the preservation of human resources in the economy, the land reform, and speedier economic adjustment.

"Perspective for Bulgaria" gives special prominence to privatization. The BSP is in favour of socially-oriented privatization. "Privatization should be in the interest of those who created the state property, not in the interest of any group that would profit from restitution, the mafia, or any power group seeking quick enrichment," says the document. According to the Socialists, the list of units which should not be privatized under the Constitution, should also include "railway transport, Black Sea and Danubian ports, the nuclear power plant, the power lines, the national post and telecommunications system, and the military industrial complex." "Perspective for Bulgaria" says that at least one-third of property due for privatization should be distributed among all Bulgarians of age, regardless of where they have worked or are working, through registered bonds granted free of charge, which can be used only for the purchase of shares within a term fixed in the legislation.

## Socialist Party of Serbia Delegation Visits

*AU1003085793 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 4 Mar 93 p 6*

[Report by Dora Chichkova: "Serbs Are Seeking the Understanding of Their Bulgarian Neighbors"]

[Text] The Serbian Assembly has submitted an official invitation to the Bulgarian Parliament. This became known some time ago, on the occasion of the visit paid by a three-member delegation of the Socialist Party of Serbia to our country, at the invitation of the Socialist Youth Union. The Serbs have reportedly addressed invitations to Bulgarian politicians, scientists, sportsmen, and to ordinary tourists, insisting that they should visit Belgrade.

We are not asking you to take our side. However, as friends and neighbors we expect you to seek objective information about us. This is what Sinisa Knjazevic, deputy of the Socialist Party of Serbia; Dusanka Djogo, member of the Socialist Party of Serbia's Supreme Council Executive Bureau; and Alskandar Rastevic, member of the Supreme Council and deputy chairman of the Young Socialists' Union, stated during their visit.

The UN embargo and the general assessments on the Serbs' guilt in the Yugoslav crisis, which are spread all over the world, are solely the result of unobjective information, according to our guests.

Aleksandar Rastovic was the most emotional of the three in discussing the reasons for the Yugoslav crisis: "The causes of the crisis should be sought in the aspirations of certain nations, who never had their own state, or lost it a long time ago, to establish their own state today. The problem, however, emerged when some of them decided to impose their rights by the force of arms. It happened when extremist nationalistic forces prevailed in Slovenia and Croatia. They also tried to annex Serbian territories. The Serbs were eliminated as a nation by the Croatian Constitution. Well-known scientists were dismissed from their posts, and people were tortured and pressured to emigrate," Rastovic stressed.

The situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina is even more complicated, Rastovic went on. He also insisted on the responsibility of the EC and the United States. In encouraging the ambitions of the Muslims and Croatians to set up their own independent states, they disregard the interests of the Serbian community, which represents approximately 40 percent of the population and inhabits 64 percent of the territory, Rastovic explained. "From the very first day it was our intention to respect everyone's rights, but this should have also applied to the Serbs," he added.

Nowhere in the world are ethnic minorities granted so many rights as was the case in former Yugoslavia, he

pointed it. Only on the territory of the former Yugoslavia a religious community, such as the Muslims, had the status of a nation, Rastovic emphasized, prompting the question: "Why was the most terrifying interethnic conflict unleashed precisely on that territory?"

Rastovic is convinced that the tension was provoked by the excesses committed by the political parties of the ethnic minorities. He suspects the "hand of the United States" which, according to him, was trying to take revenge on the EC by supporting the establishment of an Islamic state in the center of the explosive Balkan Peninsula. [Bosnia-Hercegovina President] Izetbegovic's soldiers are committing crimes that exceed the limits of civilized behavior. It is a question of genocide and of violating international conventions, Rastovic pointed out. He is convinced that huge financial resources are backing the anti-Serbian disinformation campaign.

Sinisa Knjazevic also expressed his view on the matter. He pointed out that the right to self-determination is guaranteed by the Constitution. The country's Constitution was defined as democratic and progressive by the West at the time of its adoption in March 1990. Nevertheless, the subsequent election victory of the Socialists did not suit the interests of the West, he added.

Dusanka Djogo said that 40 percent of the population living in Serbia is not of Serbian origin. Nevertheless, civic peace was preserved in Serbia, unlike the situation in the other Yugoslav republics, Dusanka Djogo explained. She is convinced that the national minorities are best represented in the Socialist Party of Serbia, and in this respect the party has great advantages over the opposition parties in parliament.

The Serbs will overcome all tortures of hell, because the people's spiritual resilience is great, Sinisa Knjazevic stated in answering our question about how his country is coping with the embargo.

Dusanka Djogo explained: We are working according to a special plan aimed at mobilizing our internal resources. We rely on the industrial branches, which are processing local raw materials. The Serbs are promoting the construction of railroad lines and bypass roads around large cities, in particular. They are preparing for their prompt integration with international trade, as soon as the embargo is lifted. Serbian companies continue to produce export goods on the basis of agreements signed prior to the embargo. As soon as the embargo is lifted, they are ready to settle their debts with their foreign partners.

Deputy Knjazevic stated: No country whatsoever would wish to be subjected to such severe sanctions. Nevertheless, we hope that they will be lifted, when the truth finally emerges. The visitors did not conceal their respect for Bulgaria's stand, which rejects military intervention as a solution for the Yugoslav crisis.

## Ukrainian Delegation Arrives for Trade Talks

*AU0903191593 Sofia BTA in English 1847 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Sofia, March 9 (BTA)—A Ukrainian Government delegation arrived on a three-day working visit here today, led by Deputy Prime Minister Yuliy Ioffe. The sides will discuss bilateral trade and economic cooperation and will sign an agreement for the setting up of an intergovernmental commission and a protocol on economic and scientific and technical cooperation in 1993. The sides will agree on the tentative lists for commercial exchange between Bulgaria and Ukraine and will discuss settlement options.

Bulgaria is interested in Ukrainian coal and electricity, Mr. Ioffe said on his arrival, while we need Bulgarian oil products, electrical engineering equipment, minerals, medicines and trucks. He will propose two means of settlement—hard currency and clearing.

The Ukrainian delegation includes the minister for power engineering and electrification, the chairman of the state committee for oil and gas, the chairman of the state committee for the coal industry and a representative of Ukreximbank.

## Visa Agreement With Turkey Signed in Sofia

*AU1003103493 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 10 Mar 93*

[Text] One hour ago at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Sofia a visa agreement between Bulgaria and Turkey was signed. The agreement will come into force on 15 April. Our reporter Stefka Kozadzhieva reports:

[Kozadzhieva] On the Bulgarian side the agreement was signed by Valentin Dobrev, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and on the Turkish side by Yalcin Oral, Turkish ambassador to Bulgaria.

In signing the visa agreement the two governments were guided by their desire to facilitate the travelling of their citizens on a mutually beneficial basis and thus facilitate the development of good-neighborly and friendly relations between the two countries, and simplify the procedure of issuing visas.

After signing the visa agreement, Mr. Dobrev pointed out that the agreement will significantly contribute to developing relations between the two countries in anything related to travel. Special attention was devoted to the humanitarian aspects of the issue, and to the business contacts.

Mr. Yalcin Oral said that special attention was devoted to creating alleviations for journalists. The document corresponds to the new reality in Europe, Bulgarian-Turkish relations, and the internal legislating of the two states. It reflects the comprehensive policy of the Bulgarian Government, aimed at adapting to the European standards.

## Germany Donates Crime-Fighting Equipment

*AU0903180393 Sofia BTA in English 1701 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Sofia, March 9 (BTA)—Mrs. Kristl Steffler, German ambassador to Bulgaria, presented the Central Organized Crime Control Service with 10 new automobiles, transmission equipment and drugs detectors worth DM [German marks] 600,000.

Mrs. Steffler said that the German side attaches great importance to cooperation with the Bulgarian authorities.

This gift is part of the DM2 million aid (over 33 million leva) which the German Ministry of the Interior will grant the Bulgarian police to assist its activities in combatting drugs trafficking.

Bulgarian Interior Minister Viktor Mikhaylov thanked the German Federal Ministry of the Interior for its support and cooperation in the training of personnel, in the exchange of information and in the technical equipment of the Bulgarian services combatting drugs trafficking. This act (the present gift) also comes to show that the relations between the two countries are acquiring new dimensions based on mutual confidence and the wish to be equal partners in the achievement of a common goal—a peaceful and untroubled Europe, Mr. Mikhaylov said.

At the press conference later on the director at the German Federal Ministry of the Interior, Dr. Wolfgang Schreiber, said that this aid is not sufficient and that it is a small but not last contribution to the efforts of the police in combatting growing organized crime.

Mr. Kosta Bogatsevski, chief secretary of the Bulgarian Ministry of the Interior, said that 80 percent of the drugs intercepted in Western Europe have passed along the so-called Balkan route. Last year the Bulgarian authorities confiscated over 400 kg of heroin, and large quantities of drugs have been intercepted since the beginning of 1993, Mr. Bogatsevski said.

## Article Assesses Chances of Monarchists

*AU1003091793 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 6-7 Mar 93 p 5*

[Article by Zheko Kyosev: "The Republic, the Monarchy, and the Bulgarians"]

[Text] The emergence of pluralism in our contemporary society prompted a public dispute about the form of government. The question of whether Bulgaria should be a monarchy or a republic is a topical issue, on which Bulgarians are divided today. The dilemma is exploited by the majority of politicians and political parties merely as a weapon in their daily political squabbles, without realizing that it is actually a Damoclean sword pending over their own precious heads.

The monarchy in Bulgaria was practically abolished in September 1944, but the monarchist idea that continued to exist in secret throughout almost half a century resurged to new life. In its most simplified form it is accepted as the antithesis of the republic, while for the majority of politicians it is part of the game about "good guys and bad guys."

At the first glance, the antimonarchist, namely the so-called republican camp is united. It appears united because it propagates antimonarchism as its chief objective. Actually, the republicans are a rather diversified group, especially regarding the moral aspect of their republicanism. Several republican parties and groups that differ in their origins, goals, and ideas exist in Bulgaria today. They could be divided into biased and sincere republicans, generally speaking. The first group chiefly belongs to the former communist circles, which are still suffering from the incurable ideological cliches of Bolshevism. They still glorify the struggle against the legitimate state institutions in Bulgaria in the late 1930's and early 1940's as an antifascist, hence democratic struggle. In this respect they continue to insist on the thesis about Bulgaria having been subject to a fascist regime in the aforementioned period and about the king as a sort of Nazi "fuehrer." The former Communists are trying to indoctrinate the public with the primitive formula that a republican is a democrat, while a monarchist is a totalitarian. This is their historical propaganda argument in support of their aspiration to play a major role in Bulgaria's contemporary political life and for their place among the democratic, political formations.

The sincere republicans base their republican ideas on unbiased and intelligent arguments and analyses stemming from the ideals of the Bulgarian national revival. They sincerely strive to establish the first genuinely democratic republic in Bulgaria's 1,300-year history.

While the Bulgarian state experienced nearly all forms of monarchy in the course of its long existence, a democratic republican system is practically unknown in our country. Therefore, the sincere republicans meet serious obstacles and widespread skepticism in trying to implement their ideas.

Internal disputes also divide the republican camp over the question of what kind of republic should be preferred—a presidential or a parliamentary one. The parliamentary form is on the verge of totally disgracing itself, while the presidential alternative is far from popular. Hence, if the republican idea should be victorious in a hypothetical referendum, the republican camp is likely to split in two opposed republican blocs. In addition to this, the republican idea is marred by the negative inheritance of the totalitarian republic.

As a result of all this, the republic, in spite of really existing and actually ruling the country, is by far not as ideologically undisputed and politically stable as it appears at a first glance.

As far as the supporters of the monarchy are concerned, they are also divided into different groups. Nevertheless, we have no reason to believe that biased monarchists exist in Bulgaria today. Monarchy does not exist at all and could not even theoretically provide the notorious Balkan-style fringe benefits of power. Bulgarian politicians who belonged to the court circles, or were even remotely related to such circles, in the World War II period, were long ago sentenced to death by the People's Court. They can only rely on the grace of God or on the dubious justice of historical assessments.

Nevertheless, the monarchist camp is by far more homogeneous and less susceptible to external influences and contradictions, for the simple reason that the monarchy as a form of state government is undisputed and because the position of the Bulgarian king and his dynasty are also indisputable. The Bulgarian monarch is undisputed, his succession is guaranteed, and the dynasty is of solid European stock.

The monarchist idea underwent a certain evolution in Bulgaria over the last three years. It happened under the influence of internal, political and economic factors, but also as a result of Simeon II's behavior. Following the first upheavals of the transition period, Bulgarians were inclined to see the monarch as a sort of saviour. However, a monarch can and should never be a messiah. Simeon II deliberately renounced this image, but he tried to assume a role similar to that of a godfather for the Bulgarian people. The king never got involved with any of the political camps that divide Bulgarians citizens today, and he never showed a preference for any political party whatsoever. Remaining untouchable and unaffected by anything and anyone, he appears benevolent toward everyone and demonstrates a profound concern for the Bulgarian people's fate. One thing is certain, however, namely that the exiled king, with all his actions, is trying to build nationwide confidence in himself and in the monarchy.

The republican institutions could hardly oppose the king's goals, and he is not likely to let his carefully planned strategy be foiled. Rather than striving for the people's confidence, the republican institutions are engaged in self-destructive internal struggles and infighting. A series of objective causes, such as the imperfections of the Constitution, the upheavals of the transition period, and other factors have contributed to their instability. Nevertheless, rather than aspiring to nationwide confidence, the idea of national consensus was launched as a priority objective. This is an absolutely preposterous goal, under the conditions of a pluralistic and dynamic society in transition, such as ours, and especially in view of its emotional instability! Actually, nothing but a foul political compromise was achieved, as a result of which the biased republicans managed to mingle with the sincere ones, and the idea of the democratic republic, rather than the monarchist cause, was gravely affected. Stability and confidence in the republican institutions were not and could not possibly be achieved.

Numerous undecided and nostalgic monarchists, people profoundly disappointed with the republican government, exist in Bulgaria today. As long as the present institutions fail to stabilize their position by democratic methods, and as long as they do not strive to win the people's confidence rather than losing it, the aforementioned people have a real chance of becoming victorious monarchists.

### Correction to Kosovo Trade Unions Chief

*AU0903130693*

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Kosovo Trade Unions Chief on 'Discrimination,'" published in the 9 March East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 5: First paragraph, first sentence, make read: ...Professor Gorani arrived in Bulgaria following the Balkan conference... (rephrasing)

## Havel: 'More Determined Action' in Bosnia Possible

*AU0903123893 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 8 Mar 93 p 2*

["(pch)"-signed report: "The President Discusses Bosnia-Hercegovina"]

[Text] Olomouc—The Czech Republic must express a categorical opinion on the military conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina and must identify the major guilty party. President Havel made this statement during a visit to Moravia. "The untold suffering of our fellow human beings in Bosnia-Hercegovina intrinsically concerns us," said the Czech president yesterday afternoon from the balcony of the Palacky University Pedagogical Faculty in Olomouc. "In the event that all other solutions fail, we must support—within the framework of our potential—more determined action by the international community."

## Interview With Klaus Regarding Slovakia

*LD0903203393 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1750 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Regular weekly interview with Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus, by Vaclav Musilek; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Musilek] Premier, at the beginning of our conversation I would like to recall, somewhat untraditionally, your article in the Friday edition of CESKY DENIK; this article dealt with the Slovak issue. Your article was rather different from various views and write-ups either savoring, with unconcealed euphoria, Slovak economic difficulties or outlining, in connection with these difficulties, gloomy prospects for economic development in the Czech Republic. In your article you wrote that our attitude to Slovakia is not a static problem related to the division of assets. You said that it is a fluid problem. What is the essence of this problem?

[Klaus] [passage omitted] It is not the government but the Czech public which continues to erroneously focus on the static problem in the division of assets. It means that everyone is very much bothered by the ways in which the division of tangible items or money, which has so far been in federal ownership, will be resolved. At stake here are thousands of billions [of koruny]. The problem we are experiencing concerns mutual trade between the Czech and Slovak republics, for far higher figures are at stake here. Any shortcoming in this respect has far, far greater consequences than the shortcomings related to the division of assets. I think that we have not managed to explain this to everyone in our country in a sufficiently forceful and convincing manner. That's why I wrote the article, where I examined the issue in a way I consider normal, but which, I think, is new for many of the readers.

[Musilek] Let's discuss your government strategy and priorities which will be taken into account toward Slovakia.

[Klaus] At issue is not merely our strategy and our priorities. What is at issue is how Slovakia will, in fact, continue to function now. Unfortunately, this is very much a Slovak issue. We are unable to comment on it today. One minute they may not devalue, the next minute they can reject Klaus' reform, then they can urge people to buy only Slovak goods and not buy foreign-made trash, or in other words goods from Bohemia. Slovakia can perform all of this, of course, while our chance of influencing this decision-making is, of course, zero. This chance is zero and everyone should know that it is zero.

The government is able to act in this respect, and it is acting [word indistinct]. It is able to offer various things and it is doing so. From time to time it can make threats and hope that they will yield results. All this is an accumulation of various issues. As you could have seen, a certain threat from the Ostrava-Karvina coal mines concerning the suspension of coal deliveries to the East Slovak Iron Plant has produced at least some effect. I have just received a fax from the mines' director general who told me how things stand, what is happening today, what payments have been made, and what promises of payments from the plant there are.

All of this is everyday decision-making, pushing and shoving. Another round of talks between the finance ministers should take place tomorrow. The ministers of industry or economy are likely to hold talks simultaneously. These things are going on continually. Talks on border issues are being held by the foreign and interior ministers. There is nothing more and nothing less that we can do.

[Musilek] You mentioned the talks about the borders. What, in your view, in the opinion of your government, should the Czech-Slovak border look like? Should it indeed be a completely standard border completely identical with the border of the Czech Republic with Austria, Germany, or after all, as a certain residue of the former Czechoslovakia, should this border be different in some respects?

[Klaus] Let us use for a while the word "standard" or "non-standard" or "above standard." Let us use it for a while so that I can question it again. From a certain point of view, that is from the point of view of movement of goods and from the point of view of the movement of persons of third countries, the border will be a standard one, that means that both third-country persons and goods will cross the border at specified border crossings, not across the Javorniky or Male Karpaty [mountain ranges], not even along the tourist paths or small roads which exist today between the Czech and the Slovak republics without being designated border crossings. So that is one thing.

The "above standard" step will be two-fold: First, along the entire length of the border, a system somewhat similar to small border contact will be introduced, without special authorization cards as we knew it with Poland, but just using the existing identity card. The second thing will be that the citizens of the Czech Republic in Slovakia or vice versa will be allowed to cross this border, whether going for a walk or when cross-country skiing along Javorniky, or in any other way—that is, even at different locations from the existing 13 border crossings being prepared today, with a passport. That is the "above standard" step. I do not think that it is any tragedy that a passport will have to be carried and not an identity card, because I think that today it does not matter if one has a passport or an identity card; there is no physical difference in this. I think it is completely irrelevant that it is a large document which cannot be put anywhere. [passage omitted]

## Italian Daily Interviews President Havel

*PM1003091493 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 6 Mar 93 p 13*

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by Piero Benetazzo; date, place not given]

[Excerpts] Prague—[passage omitted] [Benetazzo] According to popular humor, your country should really be called "East Germany"...

[Havel] I do not think there is any real danger of economic and cultural domination by Germany; it is entirely up to us. Germany is a great country with which we have long borders, and it is precisely along these borders that our two cultures have met, often creatively, often conflictually. But it is entirely up to us, to our policy, to avoid becoming a colony. Hitherto this danger has been, rather, a problem brandished by the left and the communists. But it is not supported by the real situation. We want the involvement of German capital and investments, but they are still present here only in tiny amounts, really not enough to justify any sense of alarm.

[Benetazzo] The ruling parties and other political and social forces would like a country entirely oriented toward the West, and we even hear challenges being made to the cooperation agreements with the East. What kind of international role do you see for the Czech Republic?

[Havel] We have always been a crossroads for tensions—including spiritual ones—for vested interests and power ambitions. History teaches us that our country has always been a kind of test for the European situation. What happens here determines and anticipates events throughout the continent. Our position is a challenge to seek a European policy that is both comprehensive and responsible. To develop relations with our eastern neighbors is a precondition for greater integration in Europe. We no longer need to do it—as we did a while ago—with fanfares and proclamations, but with actions and agreements based on specifics. We absolutely cannot turn our backs on the eastern countries, or say that what happens there does not interest us. It is impossible to try to become the "eastern frontier," the "last bastion" of the West. The lessons of history rule it out completely.

[Benetazzo] The first test will be Slovakia. What kind of relations do you maintain?

[Havel] I did not want the separation, and I tried for a long time to oppose it. But eventually, after the election results, the separation became necessary, and I eventually accepted it as an inevitability. In any case, if the citizens had not wanted it, they would have rebelled. What will happen between us now? That is difficult to say. The two countries have different and divergent kinds of economic development, but our long ties demand that we avert tensions, not create "iron curtains" that will exclude Slovakia. That would not be in anyone's interests. We have strong and ancient ties that could be broken off; they demand a stable and orderly development of relations. [passage omitted]

[Benetazzo] Mr. President, you now seem to me more like a politician than an intellectual.

[Havel] I cannot judge. I try to always be the same person. I often write, I often discuss the constitution. But I always do so following my conscience, and I see no barrier between the two occupations. I have not identified myself with my position, nor have I identified myself with politics to the extent of not being able to do without it. For that matter, I believe that there are no barriers between intellectuals and politicians. They both perform creative activities. But intellectuals can end their work, whereas politicians cannot. Their work is never finished; it is constantly evolving; and this, I have learned, can often be unpleasant. Moreover, in politics, the psychological aspect—the public, the meetings—are more important than the policy. You have to know how to negotiate. This is the lesson of my past 3 years.

[Benetazzo] The intellectuals who led the way out of communism have been defeated everywhere...

[Havel] Not everywhere. But it is true that among the public of the eastern countries there is a growing tide against the former dissident intellectuals. There are several reasons for this. It may be that someone who had long experience in criticising and has displayed great ability in analyzing the totalitarian regimes subsequently proves unable to deal with specific everyday problems. But sometimes also the societies that identified an alternative in them discover that they cannot identify with them. This, because the societies have a different past, have tried to survive, to adapt. They have not fought and run risks; so the dissidents have become uncomfortable figures. It is a similar process to what happened after World war II. Add to this the fact that the generations are changing. We are witnessing the emergence of young people accustomed to pragmatism rather than struggle, who incline, rather, toward specific reforms. This varied

range of reasons explains the decline of the intellectuals, but it is neither surprising nor tragic.

[Benetazzo] But in many countries the communists are returning to power.

[Havel] In some countries they are experiencing a surprising growth. Our societies were accustomed for decades to the paternalistic and authoritarian state, a state that took care of everything. A change takes time and a profound internal transformation of the way people think, the habit of looking after themselves. These societies are still experiencing a state of shock at their sudden freedom, and tend to yield to the old banners or communist slogans concealed in nationalist populism. It will take time, but the democratic process really is irreversible.

[Benetazzo] How do you judge the West's role?

[Havel] The West spent a long time combating the communist threat. It became used to a bipolar system, and was not prepared internally for the rapid and surprising collapse of the communist regimes. It too is still in a state of shock, and is still trying to understand what happened, how it should deal with the problem. And the revival of the debate in the East has revived in the West too an awareness of its diversity and divergent interests. This proves that East and West are communicating vessels, both in a state of shock, both unable to deal with the new situation. I think that the West needs a new generation of courageous and far-sighted politicians, such as Churchill, de Gaulle, Adenauer—people capable of dealing with the situation openly and freely. Not, as is happening now, randomly, uncertainly, and vaguely.

## Banking Council Decides To Strengthen Koruna

*AU0903125193 Prague CTK in English 1704 GMT 5 Mar 93*

[Text] Prague March 5 (CTK)—The Czech Banking Council has decided to strengthen by 2 percent the rate of the Czech koruna against the clearing ECU as of March 8, Miroslav Kostel of the Czech National Bank Press Department told CTK today.

He said the step should help to balance payments between the Czech and Slovak Republics. The Slovak koruna was devalued against ECU by the permitted 5 percent earlier.

Since the split of the Czechoslovak koruna into two independent currencies on Feburary 8, the Czech Republic's surplus in trade with Slovakia has reached about one-third of the agreed limit of the credit, which amounts to 130 million ECU. In this context the Banking Council emphasized the need for a more cautious currency policy, Kostel said.

## Zieleniec Meets With EC Official in Brussels

*LD0903173893 Prague CTK in English 1614 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Report by CTK correspondent]

[Text] Brussels Mar 9—Czech Foreign Affairs Minister Josef Zieleniec, on a two-day working visit to the Belgian capital, met today with Sir Leon Brittan, head of the European Community's (EC) foreign trade relations to discuss the drafting of a new association agreement between the EC and the Czech Republic.

Czechoslovakia signed such an agreement with the EC in December 1991, one year before the federation's dissolution. The EC now wants a new agreement with the Czech Republic to include a special provision on the observance of human rights, whose violation could invalidate the treaty. Brittan said the EC's demand does not mean the organisation has any doubts about the observance of human rights by Prague. On the contrary, he said he had admiration for what the Czech Republic had achieved in such a short period. Brittan said the decision followed a ruling by the EC's commission last May. The Czech Republic is opposed to the inclusion of the new clause.

Brittan said one of his main goals would be to see to the acceleration of trade between the EC and countries of Central Europe and the opening of western markets. He stressed that the EC would stick to its Edinburgh summit commitments on this issue, even while its member states were suffering hardships stemming from economic recession.

Brittan said he would discuss such sensitive issues as tariffs on steel during his upcoming meetings with Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus and Czech economic and finance ministers in Prague.

Zieleniec said after the meeting that the Czech Republic is aware of its responsibilities in the transformation of its economy but added that European integration must be a two-way process. He said the Czech Republic was not satisfied with its trade relations with the EC, which Prague considered a fundamental problem.

## Proposes Talks With Slovakia on Border

*LD0903194993 Prague CTK in English 1805 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Report by CTK correspondent]

[Text] Brussels March 9—Czech Minister of Foreign Affairs Josef Zieleniec proposed to his Slovak counterpart Milan Knazko today that their ministries begin discussions on administration of the Czech-Slovak border.

Zieleniec told CTK the talks are expected to result in the signing of agreements between the Czech and Slovak republics on border crossings and movement within the border area.

The two foreign ministers have been in Brussels since Monday, meeting with representatives of the European Community and the foreign ministers of the other two countries in the Visegrad group, Poland and Hungary.

Zieleniec said his proposal was fully in accord with both the spirit and letter of the existing border agreement between the countries and was merely an attempt to fill it out in certain ways. He suggested to Knazko that both Czech and Slovak citizens living within 20-25 kilometres of the border be permitted unlimited movement across the border with only a citizen identification card. Other citizens would also enjoy complete freedom of movement but would need a valid passport. Foreigners and all products would only be allowed to cross the border at certain points.

Zieleniec said the Czech proposal would create a border administration which would codify the current situation and impose some necessary order.

### Meets With NATO Secretrary General

*LD0903223093 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 2130 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec wound up his visit to Brussels by meeting with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner and the ambassadors of 16 [NATO] member countries. With Woerner he discussed NATO's attitude toward central and eastern Europe. Zieleniec clearly declared our foreign policy objectives and at the same time he pointed out that the process of integration, especially into security structures, could take a long time. He said that this process could continue not in the form of dialogue, but as concrete cooperation.

Jozef Zieleniec assured both the secretary general and the NATO ambassadors that a divided Europe cannot last forever. He emphasized that we belong to Europe and this fact should also be reflected in the structure of European institutions.

### Report Analyses EC Attitude Shift on Visegrad

*AU0903144893 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 6 Mar 93 p 4*

[Jan Zoubek report from Brussels: "The Clause on Human Rights and the European Community's Guilty Conscience"]

[Text] According to some reports, at its 8-9 March meeting in Brussels the EC Council of Ministers will approve a negotiating mandate for the EC Commission that will provide a framework for the talks on concluding new European agreements with the Czech and Slovak Republics. The fact that this mandate will not contain a demand for the inclusion of a new clause on respecting human rights, but will make it possible to adopt the rather vague formula used in the European Agreement signed with the former Czechoslovakia, is a compromise reflecting the guilty conscience of the EC, which is insufficiently and slowly opening up its market to products from Central Europe.

However, some sources maintain that as late as Thursday [4 March] evening the member countries held differing points of view, so it is—apparently—probable that no mandate for the talks on new association agreements with the Czech and Slovak Republics will be discussed on Monday and Tuesday [8 and 9 March] and that the entire matter will be postponed for about a month.

Some smaller problems may crop up in the European Parliament during the ratification debate on the new European agreement. The EC Commission and the EC Council chairman will have to convince the deputies of the reasons for not adhering to the spring 1992 "EC Council Declaration," which set down the EC's unambiguous point of view on the issue of respecting human rights. After Yugoslavia criticized the EC for not respecting the commitments contained in the Association Agreement, the EC decided to eliminate such a risk in the future. The new agreements with Bulgaria and Romania were to have contained a new kind of clause enshrining the possibility of freezing or abrogating the agreement in the event that the given state does not respect human rights and the rights of ethnic minorities. However, the two states—and Bulgaria in particular—felt discriminated against compared with Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. The problem was resolved when the EC turned the clause on human rights into an obligatory element of all the international treaties it is concluding with the CSCE countries (including, for example, the Scandinavian countries).

At a joint meeting of the European Parliament Foreign Security and Foreign Trade Committees (in Brussels on 24 February) Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar managed successfully to defend the situation in Slovakia as far as respect for human rights and the rights of ethnic minorities is concerned. The discussion revealed that if there are any problems, they are more likely to be with the Romany issue—both in the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. Nevertheless, the Romany problem is just as serious in France and Spain.

Monday's [8 March] working dinner involving the "troika" and the Visegrad Group [Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland] foreign ministers will probably be an awkward affair. The first such meeting was held in Prague last May. It was intended to show the EC, G7, and NATO that the Visegrad countries are capable of cooperating and of coordinating their foreign policy. It was also to have been an example of the participation of "potential future member countries" in establishing the new European architecture evolving from the Maastricht Treaty on European Union. A joint "Visegrad Memorandum" for the EC later developed from this first

meeting. The EC Commission then submitted a detailed proposal for "close association with the countries of Central and East Europe" to the Community's Edinburgh summit last November—a framework for the Central and East European countries' possible future membership in the EC and for the accelerated liberalization and stimulation of trade and economic relations in Europe.

However, the EC member countries' heads of government postponed approval of the Commission's report until the next EC summit in Copenhagen in June. The deepening economic crisis is making the promised more accelerated liberalization of access to the Twelve's market impossible and means that the trade concessions already enshrined in the signed, but not yet ratified, European Agreements are being suspended.

The fact that the second meeting between the "troika" and the Visegrad Group may also be the last one will accentuate the awkwardness of Monday's meeting. One of the reasons for this is the fact that the Copenhagen summit will appeal not only to the Visegrad countries, but also to the other states of East Europe to establish a "European political area" involving the EC, the countries of the European Free Trade Association, and those countries of the former East Europe with which the EC has concluded European Agreements. This will expand the overall discussion to also include Bulgaria and Romania and may mean the loss of a certain privileged status for Poland, the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic, and Hungary.

Moreover, Denmark—which will chair the EC in the first half of 1993—is convening, on its own initiative, a summit meeting for 13-14 April in Copenhagen involving the foreign ministers of the EC and the countries of Central and East Europe. Denmark is trying to present the April conference as an important curtain raiser to the EC summit in June. Nevertheless, circles in Brussels view this more as a poorly disguised attempt by Denmark (and the other Scandinavian countries) to include Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia in the privileged system of political and economic relations, a system in which—so far—the Visegrad countries have been the main beneficiaries.

## CE Delegation Investigates Human Rights

*LD0903225393 Prague CTK in English 2223 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Prague March 9 (CTK)—A visiting delegation of the Council of Europe (CE) today noted that the Romany issue in the Czech Republic was serious and that the Romanies' status differed qualitatively from that of the German and Polish ethnic minorities in the country.

The delegation arrived in Prague on Monday for a three-day working visit to the Czech Republic to investigate mainly the observance of human rights, the rights of ethnic minorities and the situation in the field of the freedom of press.

On the basis of its visit to the Czech Republic, the delegation will work out a report for the CE parliamentary assembly which is to make a decision in May on the conditions under which the Czech Republic will be admitted to the CE by the Council of Ministers.

In the meeting with the delegation today, Czech Parliament Deputy Ladislav Body (Left Bloc) said that the government had not had any concept to solve the Romany issue.

About 200,000 Romanies are estimated to live in the Czech Republic. Recently, their specific way of life has made coexistence with their surroundings difficult, especially in North Bohemia where big numbers of them have been living. Moreover, the Romanies have become the target of skinhead attacks. This has led them to appeal to the government to outlaw what they call expressions of fascism and racism. According to their representatives, the government has not yet responded satisfactorily to their demands. This was also pointed out by Jan Rusenko, spokesman for the petitions committee of the Romany Democratic Congress (RDK), in today's meeting with the CE delegation.

Journalists from CTK and other Czech media assured the delegation that the freedom of press was now ensured in the country, but added that threats to it still existed.

Czechoslovakia became a fully-fledged member of the Council of Europe in February 1991. The membership has been transferred to neither of the two successor states - the Czech and Slovak republics, though both of them have a special guest status. This allows them to participate in the parliamentary assembly sessions, but they do not have the right to vote.

CE membership is a condition for admission to the European Community.

## Journalist Protests Slovak 'Information Embargo'

*LD0903232493 Prague CTK in English 2235 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Prague Mar 9 (CTK)—The head of the Czech Union of Media Workers, Martin Muchka, sent a protest letter to Slovak Ambassador Ivan Mjartan today, charging that certain Slovak officials and government offices are applying an information embargo against Czech journalists.

Muchka presented CTK with the text of the letter. He told CTK that last Sunday's Slovak government meeting at Stara Tura, west Slovakia, to which Czech journalists, unlike their Slovak colleagues, were barred access, was indicative of this policy.

Muchka demanded that Mjartan convey his protest to the Slovak government and that steps be taken to assure proper conditions for the work of Czech journalists in Slovakia.

### Platform For Socialism Discontinued in KSCM

*AU0903130893 Prague CTK in English 1504 GMT 7 Mar 93*

[Text] Prague March 7 (CTK)—The Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) Central Committee decided last night to discontinue the status of the Platform For Socialism within the party, but its representatives continue to be members of the KSCM.

The faction, which emerged within the KSCM in January, said it wanted all KSCM members to become active followers of and fighters for the renaissance of the socialist world outlook. It was headed by Miroslav Stepan, top communist official before November 1989, and comprised also other people linked to the totalitarian regime.

At last night's session in Hostivice near Prague, the Central Committee approved a letter to party members calling for an inner party debate on a possible change of its name and statutes. The debate will last till April 30.

The proposal for changing the name of the party, submitted by its chairman Jiri Svoboda, did not win much support. A proposal was even tabled by a member of the KSCM Central Committee for Svoboda's resignation as chairman of the party.

According to a member of the faction For Socialism, Vaclav Papez, those seeking a change of the party's name actually seek a fundamental change in the KSCM's orientation. He said these people should leave the party and found a new one.

After Saturday's [6 March] session, which failed to agree on a clear stand on changing the party's name, Svoboda is going to consider whether he should remain its chairman, sources close to Svoboda told CTK today.

I will think about the results of the Central Committee session, Svoboda told CTK, adding that he will present his stand at a press conference on Tuesday.

At a recent press conference, Svoboda conditioned his staying in the function by adjusting the party's name to its program. He was suggesting the name Party of Democratic Socialism.

### Environment Minister Benda Favors Temelin Plant

*LD0903235993 Prague CTK in English 2259 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Prague Mar 9 (CTK)—Czech Environmental Minister Frantisek Benda today told Czech parliamentarians that he supports completion of the Temelin nuclear power plant in southern Bohemia, pending adoption of a law setting down guidelines for the operation of nuclear power plants.

The Czech parliament's Chamber of Deputies is holding a special seminar on the matter, after which it will issue a recommendation to Premier Vaclav Klaus. Benda criticised Temelin's main investor, Ceske Energeticke Zavody (CEZ), for failing to spread information on Temelin's safety features to the public at large.

Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus told deputies that his cabinet had investigated the issue with utmost seriousness. He said cabinet members had evaluated four main areas: estimates for future electrical demand, options for satisfying this demand, environmental and safety guarantees for Temelin's operation and financial considerations. Given all these considerations we come out in favour of completing Temelin, Klaus said.

Klaus also said that the American company Westinghouse Electric Corporation, which is to provide the plant's controlling mechanism, is one of the top firms and stressed its reliability. He said it had taken part in constructing 172 of the world's 312 nuclear power plants.

Industry and Trade Minister Vladimir Dlouhy said contracts for the delivery of nuclear fuel from Westinghouse had already been prepared. He said Temelin would cut down on overall sulphur oxide emissions by 10 per cent, with emissions dropping by up to 23 per cent in northern Bohemia, where coal-powered power plants are the republic's major energy supplier.

The Czech Governmnet is set to discuss Temelin at its meeting on Wednesday.

### Interview With Social Democratic Chairman Zeman

*AU1003092693 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 5 Mar 93 p 12*

[Interview with Milos Zeman, chairman of the Czech Social Democratic Party, by Petr Janyska; place and date not given: "We Want To Win Elections by Applying Strong Criticism"]

[Text] [Janyska] Sir, you have been elected chairman by a "fragile majority"—as you yourself put it. Some of your members immediately wanted to leave the party. This is not an enviable situation. What are you going to do to keep the Social Democratic Party united?

[Zeman] I want to give so much work to everyone—work that they themselves would consider useful—as to make them forget all the intrigues. There are more things within our party on which we are united than divided. Our principal value is solidarity and it would be paradoxical if we were unable to apply it among ourselves. Local elections are approaching, and I will do my best to have better projects than our rivals.

[Janyska] You are characterizing the disagreements as if they were of a private nature—you are saying: "intrigues". However, an essential difference between two streams is involved here, streams that opposed each other until your party's convention.

[Zeman] In the pre-convention campaign, our standpoints had polarized, but since the vote both sides have been trying to find what they have in common. Both streams are united in wanting to march toward election success. If there was a stream which would like to shift into reverse gear, then, of course, we would be unable to reach agreement.

[Janyska] In the Czech Social Democratic Party Club of Deputies in parliament you have a minority, and among the deputy chairmen, too. Is there anyone from your group in the leadership of your party?

[Zeman] No, I consider it to be a wise decision by the delegates, since from the very beginning I have rejected the idea of a single-color team, as supported, for example, by Ivan Fisera. In my opinion, there should be radicals as well as moderates in the leadership.

We met on Monday [1 March] immediately after the convention. Of course, we were all tired, sleepy, and nervous—and, to put it simply, this was an ideal environment to drive us into disputes. However, we were able to debate for several hours and reach agreement. This is a good sign for future cooperation, particularly in view of the fact that we reached agreement on the jurisdiction of the deputy chairmen.

[Janyska] The representative of the moderate wing, and your rival candidate, Pavel Novak, hesitated for a long time before he accepted a position in your group. Have you agreed on some kind of modus vivendi?

[Zeman] If you think that I offered to concede to all Pavel Novak's conditions, then I must say that there was no such agreement.

[Janyska] So, it is not true that you offered him the post of deputy chairman?

[Zeman] Mr. Novak did not set any conditions, and there was no discussion of that kind. Only in my speech after the elections did I say that I would recommend him for that position (the elections will be held by the Central Committee). It will be discussed on 8 March.

**Other People Will Vote for Us**

[Janyska] In the most recent elections, you gained 7 percent of the vote. Do you have any idea which groups of the population voted for you, and which groups you want to address now so as to come any nearer to election victory?

[Zeman] In the next elections, those who will vote for us will most likely be different from those who voted for us in the most recent elections. There are some 8.5 million investment coupon holders. Many of them will find out that the riches promised have not materialized. A lot of people will be in a relatively difficult situation regarding their existence. Government promises about stopping inflation have not materialized, either. All those people must be given a decent positive alternative, a chance for change. I am not talking about a return to before 17 November 1989, or Sladek's version of much ado and fuss, but about a positive alternative accompanied by some tough criticism of the government. This is how we can win the next elections, and appeal to those who have not voted for us as yet.

[Janyska] What ideas, traditionally linked with social democracy, do you still consider to be topical? West European [social democratic] parties, for example, do not speak about nationalization....

[Zeman] Our principal ideal is freedom, justice, and solidarity. This is what many parties use as slogans today. We are characterized mostly by solidarity. Solidarity with people who, in a certain period of their lives, find themselves in a difficult situation—when they cannot help themselves with their own resources—and need help. This help cannot be in the form of merely charitable assistance, but must be organized by the whole of society, that is, the state.

You certainly know of the report by the neo-liberal Adam Smith Institute. According to this report, there is a high risk of unemployment in the post-communist countries, including ours. We cannot struggle against that only by distributing unemployment benefit, but by an active offensive policy, including organizing publicly beneficial works, retraining, and the revival of the economy, which creates new jobs.

**A Motivated Owner**

[Janyska] You often speak about employees' shares and the participation of the employees in the ownership of enterprises.

[Zeman] In Japan, a method of mixed ownership with employees' and managers' shares has been implemented. Employees share profits in the form of dividends, identify themselves with the company, and are interested in increasing their output. Unlike the monetarists, we are of the opinion that we do not need only private owners, but motivated private owners. In our opinion, these should be the employees since their motivation is the strongest.

[Janyska] Very often, it is believed that employees of enterprises are not concerned about maximizing profits, but about keeping their salaries and jobs.

[Zeman] There are about 10,000 companies with 12 million employees who adopted the Employee Stock Ownership Plan in the United States. On the list of the 500 most successful firms published in FORTUNE magazine, 25 percent are those who adopted this system. Since those 12 million employees represent 12 percent of employed people, this means that a company that adopted this system is twice as successful as a company that did not.

[Janyska] New job opportunities, organizing publicly beneficial works—where are you going to get the money for this?

[Zeman] It is possible to revive the economy by creating new markets. State-financed investment may have a multiplier effect, and create new jobs for a number of domestic construction and other companies.

[Janyska] Are you considering nationalization?

[Zeman] Not in the profit-oriented entrepreneurial sector. However, the public sector—education, health care, culture—is a different thing. Election posters of one party were saying that the health care system would be cured by competition. The health care system cannot be improved like that—this was one of the silliest slogans in the elections. Schools and hospitals are not enterprises that should make their own living.

[Janyska] Are you against private health care and education, then?

[Zeman] There is no reason why private schools or clinics should not exist, but they should exist in a complementary form only. Standards and continuously improving—if possible—health care and education systems should be in the hands of the state. As well as the infrastructure, energy networks, and transportation.

[Janyska] You do not believe in the invisible hand of the market, do you?

[Zeman] This is a small example of the absolute misunderstanding of my opinion. On the contrary, I do believe in the invisible hand of the market, and I do not believe, as one who is not a person who has read just a single book, that this hand should be completed by a public hand. [sentence as published] However, if we want to be an economic cripple, then let everything be either controlled by the state, including the economy, or privatized, including the public sector. But, in my opinion, we need both hands, the invisible one and the public one.

[Janyska] What is your opinion on inflation? Would you curb it, and how?

[Zeman] Inflation is an evil, creating economic uncertainty and depreciating savings. Look at how much we have lost by letting our savings depreciate. The inflation rate is very high—more than 100 percent if we calculate its compound rate. In conditions of a stagnating, or even declining economy (as you know, gross domestic product declined by 9 percent last year), inflation cannot be harnessed.

[Janyska] Are we through the inflationary spiral, then?

[Zeman] The inflationary spiral will reappear, and will be accompanied by a wave of bankruptcies.

[Janyska] What tools would you use to be more successful in controlling it than the Klaus government was?

[Zeman] I believe that we have this inflation because the liberalization of prices was effected while there were monopoly producers. The behavior of food factories and other enterprises has shown that there are cartel agreements between these enterprises, and the anti-monopoly institutions do no work properly. That is, the monopoly environment that still persists in our country is accelerating inflation. Inflation could be curbed somewhat by implementing more consistent demonopolization, by making the manufacturing sector more flexible, and, above all, by reviving the economy.

[Janyska] Would it be advantageous to prevent the wave of bankruptcies.

[Zeman] Chancellor Kohl said a month and half ago that Germany must abandon the "swim-or-get-drowned" policy, and that large enterprises, in particular, must be saved. So you must have noticed that I was quoting an ultra-leftist politician.

How to prevent the excessive wave of bankruptcies, then? Apart from the support necessary to create conditions for adaptation—and to prevent the adaptation shock— we should establish an Employee Stock Ownership type of ownership. This type of ownership does best in companies on the verge of bankruptcy.

**No Sign of Dictatorship**

[Janyska] What is your opinion on freedom and socialism, which of the two is the more important?

[Zeman] If we understood socialism as Stalinism, then freedom is much more important, and socialism has even no value at all. I would like to point to the fact that in the European Parliament, the social democrats (who sometimes traditionally call themselves socialists) are the strongest parliamentary faction.

Your question, however, is incorrectly formulated—as if social democrats would not want freedom. Social democracy and freedom are not mutually exclusive, and it would be proper to ask which is more important: the development of individuals, or collective solidarity. I am in favor of a balance between the two, since if we exaggerate one thing, we have state collectivism, and in the opposite case, the opposite extreme.

[Janyska] After your election, you came up once again with the idea of a "realistic bloc"—a union between social democrats and other parties left of center. For Mr. Krycer from the Movement for Self Governing Democracy - the Society for Moravia and Silesia, this idea is "unacceptable." V. Zak from the Civic Movement described your statement as "absolute irresponsibility."

[Zeman] This is a matter for lengthy political discussions. Just as the government coalition was established by means of agreements, a coalition of democratic opposition must be similarly established. At the same time, I consider the communists and Sladek's followers to be an undemocratic opposition. I am not speaking about a merger of parties—or about a possible pre-election coalition—but about a regular exchange of information and coordination.

[Janyska] Do you anticipate that a large united leftist party could emerge in our country one day?

[Zeman] That could be a natural development.

[Janyska] What should be its driving force?

[Zeman] Social democratic parties should be its impetus, since all social democratic parties (with the exception of the Portuguese one), are leftist. Apart from this, the social-democratic alternative has passed the test, while the communist one failed. Social democracy has never tried to impose dictatorship, not even in countries in which it has had almost a monopoly position for dozens of years.

[Janyska] How do you want to achieve this? For the time being, you have 8 percent of the votes, and Svoboda's communists, too, are speaking about a united left.

[Zeman] In the same way as Clinton did it: To offer a clear and positive change, an alternative which no one—with the exception of CESKY DENIK—would suspect of being crypto-communist.

Communists have not succeeded in any country, and there is no reason why they should have any initiation role in the integration of the left parties in our country. This party is certain to dissolve and lose members as well as voters.

[Janyska] Have you been invited for the Communist Party convention next weekend?

[Zeman] We have received no invitation.

[Janyska] When you were elected, you said that you would push for a dynamic and efficient opposition policy. How decisively will you go against the government?

[Zeman] We are not going to sabotage bills that are in harmony with our program only because they were presented by the government. The problem will be with bills that express the interests of political bodies. For example, the law on the conflict of interests. For a long time, I did not understand why right-wing deputies from the Civic Democratic Party, or the Civic Democratic Alliance, in the former Federal Assembly were fighting so vehemently against it. But after certain entrepreneurial activities were disclosed, in which the new nomenklatura had united with the old one (the Macek-Menzel case), it struck me why. It is no accident that in the Czech Parliament is it we who are presenting a draft of the same law.

[Janyska] There will be trade union calls for strikes one day. Will you support them?

[Zeman] The strike is a basic right, respected in all advanced countries. If a trade union organization goes on strike, we will support them in cases where it is justified. We will respect the independence of trade unions, but stress that strikes cannot solve problems in the long term.

[Janyska] Why do you have so much published in RUDE PRAVO and SPIGL?

[Zeman] I have met a large number of government officials who have had articles published there over the two last years. I have a very simple principle: Views do not change their value by being published. I do not care where the opinion is published, but what it opinion is.

[Janyska] The well-known PRAVO LIDU has become a sort of internal bulletin of the party. Are you planning to increase the number of copies and address the public? You already have a sponsor, they say.

[Zeman] We are considering PRAVO LIDU as a weekly publication designed for the public. We would not be likely to succeed if we published it daily.

As regards sponsors, I was asked, not so long ago, whether Mr. Cuba from Slusovice was one of them. I can say: No. We may have several smaller and medium-size sponsors.

[Janyska] How would you characterize the last three years, negatively or positively?

[Zeman] One cannot overlook a number of positive aspects. Almost anything is better than communism. However, we should not succumb to illusions. If every communist economic policy is wrong just because it is communist, it still does not mean that every non-communist policy must be good just because it is non-communist.

As my favorite writer, Michel de Montagne, said: It would be an illusion to believe that good must necessarily come after evil.

## Animal Farming Statistics for Dec 1992 Released

*AU1003093193 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 8 Mar 93 p 5*

"Unattributed report in the "Statistical Signals" column: "Developments in Farming Animal Figures"]

[Text] After the abolition of government subsidies, statistical developments in the state, public, and cooperative sectors correspond to changes in the returns on individual kinds of animal.

On 31 December 1992, in comparison with previous year's figures, the amount of beef cattle was reduced by 16.8 percent (of which, cows were 12.6 percent), and hogs by 6.5 percent (of which, sows were 4.8 percent). The volume of poultry declined by 8.7 percent (of which, hens were 5.6 percent). New figures, including the private sector, will be determined by an inventory on 1 March 1993.

Agricultural milk production totalled 3,699 million liters, a decline of 10.3 percent compared to 1991. Egg production amounting to 3,485 million eggs represented a decline of 0.4 percent.

## Meciar: Changes 'Unavoidable' in 'Several Areas'

*AU1003111393 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Mar 93p 2*

[TA SR report: "Personnel Changes Are Unavoidable"]

[Text] Bratislava— "Politics is not a game of chess, though occasionally it is reminiscent of one. The relationship between government, president, and parliament is clearly defined by the Constitution," Vladimir Meciar said in his regular Friday [5 March] interview for Slovak Radio. He also commented on the frequent statements by representatives of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] and the Slovak National Party [SNS] that the time has come to form a broad coalition government and a government of experts. As he stressed, none of the parliamentary parties, with the exception of the SNS, has publicly expressed interest in participating in the government. As for the possibility of forming a so-called government of experts, Meciar casts doubt on this proposition by referring to the contradictory views in the economic sector.

Meciar denied that he had asked the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] Political Board to delay the "surgical cut"—the dismissal of [Foreign Minister] Milan Knazko. In response to public expressions of discontent by health care workers, he said that systemic changes were continuing in this department and that he considered this dissatisfaction logical. He said that, when the government was formed, it was assumed that Viliam Sobona would remain in the post [of health minister] until the end of last year. As he said, there is no correlation between the government's ability to function and the number of political forces participating in it. However, this does not mean rejecting any agreement with them. Even though spreading the consequences of the present precarious situation to other political forces would rid the HZDS of criticism, on the other hand it would be no guarantee of stability. As he said, there are several areas where personnel changes will be unavoidable.

[Prague CTK in English at 1124 GMT on 6 March carries the following report on Meciar's interview for Slovak Radio on 5 March:

"Bratislava March 6 (CTK)—After reviewing the programs of individual political parties and their experts, the ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) found no partners with whom a wider government coalition could be formed, Slovak Premier and HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar said on Slovak Radio Friday.

"Referring to the Democratic Left Party (SDL), Meciar said that it would not be reasonable to make changes in the cabinet at a time when political parties are changing themselves. The Slovak National Party (SNS), according to Meciar, has fulfilled it program and it is not known where the party will be headed now. He rejected cooperation with Hungarian parties because of their alleged narrow nationalistic orientation.

"Asked about the canceled trip by Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko to Brussels next week, Meciar said that Jan Lisuch, state secretary in the foreign ministry, who was to go instead of Knazko, will not go either as he will be accompanying Meciar on his trip to Great Britain.

"The replacement of Knazko by Lisuch for the trip, decided by the Slovak Government on March 1, was being linked to Knazko's dispute with Meciar which led even to speculation about Knazko's possible dismissal as foreign minister."]

## Meciar Confirms Request To Recall Knazko

*LD1003114693 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 10 Mar 93*

[Text] TA SR [Press Agency of the Slovak Republic] just issued a report that Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar has confirmed that he has asked [Slovak President Michal Kovac] in writing that Foreign Minister Milan Knazko be recalled from office.

After he had received visitors from Bavaria, Meciar was asked by a journalist about the reasons he had stated in his note. Meciar said: "I have not given any reasons; the constitution does not require them."

## Knazko Rules Out Compromise With Meciar

*AU1003093093 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 8 Mar 93 pp 1,3*

[Interview with Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko by Karol Wolf in Bratislava on 6 March: "Knazko: Meciar Is Damaging Slovakia"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko reacted on Saturday [6 March] to some of the recent statements made about him by Prime Minister Meciar. He also replied to a few questions from our newspaper. [passage omitted]

[Wolf] Your dispute with the prime minister is also a dispute among the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] leadership. What, in this respect, do you expect from the movement's upcoming board meeting and subsequent assembly?

[Knazko] You know very well that a press moratorium on internal party affairs still applies, and I do not intend to defy it. I am convinced that HZDS bodies are sufficiently capable of making the appropriate decision.

[Wolf] Do you have the feeling that the HZDS chairman has already ignored the moratorium more than once?

[Knazko] My press secretary is whispering "no comment," and I must respect him.

[Wolf] How do the HZDS deputies in the National Council of the Slovak Republic view your dispute with the prime minister?

[Knazko] I have not yet spoken to the club, but a number of deputies have already asked me to come and explain my points of view. I will do this as soon as possible.

[Wolf] What do you think the final outcome of this dispute will be? Do you think Meciar is capable of making a compromise?

[Knazko] I think a compromise would be a victory for him. On the other hand, I do not think we will be able to talk about a victory in his case.

[Wolf] Do you mean to say you think that, in the event of some solution to the dispute being reached, there will be an ideological schism resulting in the collapse of the HZDS or the government?

[Knazko] Slovakia is momentarily in a situation in which every conflicting decision may erode political stability.

## Foreign Minister Interviewed on Talks in Brussels

*LD0903202493 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Excerpts] Milan Knazko, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, gave a news conference in Bratislava this afternoon immediately after his return from Brussels where he took part in the meeting of the Visegrad Group [Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland] and the European Community troika officials. After that he granted the following interview to Radiozurnal, represented by Zuzana Stukovska.

[Begin recording] [Stukovska] Minister, following the Brussels meeting, how would you describe the EC's political and economic support to Slovakia as a member of the Visegrad Group?

[Knazko] First of all, it is support in the area of economy. Sir [Leon] Brittan, EC commissioner for external economic relations and economic competition, with whom we held joint talks, gave an unequivocal backing to the proposals by the Visegrad Four foreign ministers to give our countries a clear signal of political preparedness. [sentence as heard] We also talked to him about further liberalization of mutual trade, in particular as far as the sensitive items are concerned. We also talked about the widening of our access to the EC markets, above the framework of the concessions granted by the EC association agreements.

As far as political support is concerned, we met the European Community troika officials with whom we discussed mainly issues concerning political dialogue, the program of [scheduled] meetings between the Visegrad Four and European troika officials. This dialogue will continue. [passage omitted]

[Stukovska] In recent days, the question of border controls on the crossings between the Czech and Slovak republics is proving to be a problem. Minister, has some compromise been found in Brussels on this issue?

[Knazko] First of all, it is necessary to create a political framework for solving these problems. This is the task of the ministries of foreign affairs. [Czech Foreign] Minister Zieleniec has already received the mandate for negotiations. [passage omitted]

I want to submit the issue at a government session in order to receive a mandate as well. However, we will begin preliminary political talks and after the political framework has been created, experts from the ministries of interior, finance, and possibly transport will be invited to join the talks. [passage omitted]

[Stukovska] Am I to understand from this that you did not receive any questions about your dispute with Vladimir Meciar?

[Knazko] Well, I do not want to talk about it. Those questions were very discreet and, well, you just do not talk about these things. In any case they appreciated the sensible move that the Slovak Government decided to make, and I am convinced that managed to send a positive signal as regards [our] relations with the EC. [passage omitted] [end recording]

## MKDH Chairman Rules Out Cabinet Position

*LD0903162593 Prague CTK in English 1525 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Bratislava March 9 (CTK)—The Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement (MKDH) will not consider working together with the current Slovak government by accepting a cabinet position, MKDH Chairman Vojtech Bugar told journalists today.

MKDH parliamentary deputy Pal Farkas told CTK that he sees no possibility to solve Slovakia's serious economic problems. Slovakia needs a government of experts, which does not exclude the possibility of a broader coalition, he told CTK that a deeper social crisis could set in, which could lead to new elections, or if necessary the naming of a caretaker government, which the MKDH would support.

Csaky [as received] said that one of Slovakia's five permanent seats in the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly should be filled by someone from the Hungarian coalition [words indistinct] all the (Slovak) parliamentary clubs would [words indistinct] ruling HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia] has occupied the Hungarian delegate's place, he said.

The MKDH holds five seats in the 150-seat Slovak parliament.

### Cernak on Trade Issues, GATT Membership

*LD0903225793 Prague CTK in English 2230 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Bratislava March 9 (CTK)—Slovak exports to the Czech Republic surpassed imports by some 20 percent during January, Slovak Economics Minister Ludovit Cernak said at a press conference citing the new report on the state of Slovak economy he submitted to the government today.

He emphasized that Slovakia will adhere to all its international treaties. We deny that Slovak businessmen are under our instructions to behave in other than market-oriented manner, he said.

Cernak added that Slovakia will coordinate its admission to the GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade] with the Czech Republic and even sign the document jointly in Geneva on March 16. We are ready to fulfill all obligations stemming from the GATT membership, he said.

GATT membership allows Slovakia to take temporary market protection measures in certain situations, and Slovakia will proceed carefully in imposing these measures. They will be certainly discussed with their customs union partners, the Czechs, and also with the other members of the Visegrad Group, Poland and Hungary, Cernak said.

The Slovak government has not yet determined which commodities would be affected by a customs surcharge but Cernak stressed it would involved only items which waste Slovak hard currency reserves.

### Farmers Say Government Not Fulfilling Program

*AU0903125593 Prague CTK in English 1403 GMT 5 Mar 93*

[Text] Bratislava March 5 (CTK)—The Slovak Government is not fulfilling its program and its agrarian policy is endangering Slovakia's self-sufficiency in food production, representatives of the Slovak Farmers Movement told journalists today.

They said that Slovak agriculture is facing collapse and if the state does not quickly deal with the situation and provide necessary subsidies, farmers will have to do away with the policy of cheap foodstuffs, which will result in a rapid increase in food prices.

They said that of the 7 billion crown (approximately $2.3 million) agricultural subsidies planned by the government last year, the branch has received only about 4 billion (some $1 million).

Citing Slovak Minister of Land Management Peter Baco and Slovak National Bank officials, representatives of Slovak Farmers emphasize that this was done under the order of the international monetary fund, which wants to reduce Slovak food production and thus open the Slovak market for foodstuffs from Western Europe.

### State of Slovaks in Czech Republic Viewed

*AU0903125793 Prague CTK in English 1959 GMT 6 Mar 93*

[Text] Bratislava March 6 (CTK)—The situation of Slovaks in the Czech Republic is catastrophic, they have no schools, institutions, organisations or churches, Jan Beliansky, a representative of Slovaks living in the United States, said at a press conference today.

He was speaking after the first conference of representatives of Slovaks living abroad, which was organised in Casta-Papiernicka, West Slovakia, by the Slovak Foreign Ministry.

Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko said that the successor states to the former Czechoslovakia have only existed for two months and it would be rather illogical to expect conditions for minorities, which have not been minorities until now, to be created in such a short period. He said he sees no reason why the Czech Republic, just as the Slovak Republic, should not observe international conventions on the rights of ethnic minorities.

The participants in the conference were received during their stay in Slovakia by Slovak President Michal Kovac and Premier Vladimir Meciar.

According to information of the Matica Slovenska cultural institution, a general conference of the World Congress of Slovaks will be held in Bratislava in April.

### Jeszensky Comments on Russia, Yugoslavia

*PM0903172193 Rome L'ESPRESSO in Italian 7 Mar 93 p 94*

[Interview with Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Wlodek Goldkorn in Rome; date not given]

[Excerpt] Rome—[passage omitted] [Goldkorn] Mr. Minister, the Russian parliament has proposed an embargo against Croatia. Some Russian politicians maintain that relations between their country and the countries of Central Europe must be reviewed. Do you fear an attempt by Russia to regain control over its former satellites?

[Jeszenszky] We still cannot fully understand what has happened to the Russians. It is true that today they are freer than ever before in their history, but freedom is a bit like air. You notice it when it is not there. Many Russians have the feeling that they have lost a certain degree of security. They have forgotten what kind of institutions they had until a short while ago. This disorientation is also reflected in their foreign policy. I believe that there are many people in that country who aspire to a new domination over the Balkan region. Perhaps they do not fully realize with what crimes the Serbs have sullied themselves in the former Yugoslavia.

[Goldkorn] Do you trust Yeltsin?

[Jeszenszky] Yes, he has made a clean break with the communist mentality. But I realize that his adversaries would like to cause him problems in foreign policy. Perhaps these people do not realize that there is also another, democratic Serbia, which is not Milosevic's Serbia, and which should be given support.

[Goldkorn] What should the West do to put an end to the war in the former Yugoslavia?

[Jeszenszky] I do not think there is room for massive military intervention, but I fear that the West's authority is at risk. This is dangerous. There are so many good ideas, so many plans to guarantee national rights, not only for the Serbs, but also for Serbs outside Serbia and non-Serbs inside Serbia, but you have to know how to put them into practice.

[Goldkorn] Your relations with Slovakia are in a critical state because, among other reasons, you are calling for autonomy for the Magyar minority.

[Jeszenszky] It is not we who have ideas about what sort of agreement should be reached, but the local Magyars. They want to enjoy the status of free men and citizens with the same rights as the Slovaks. This minority, which makes up 12 percent of the population, is being denied certain basic rights. And unfortunately the situation is similar in Romania and in Vojvodina.

### Proposal for Antall-Meciar Meeting Denied

*LD0903192893 Prague CTK in English 1744 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Budapest March 9 (CTK correspondent)—The Hungarian Foreign Ministry denied today the allegations by Slovak Government officials and press that Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar had proposed Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall to hold a meeting.

The aim of the meeting, which should be attended by a representative from the European Community (EC), would be allegedly seeking a solution to the disputes over the Gabcikovo hydro-electric project on the Danube.

The Ministry's spokesman Janos Herman said at a press conference that Hungary had not received any official initiative in this respect from the Slovak Government.

Herman pointed out that Meciar had not yet answered a letter sent to him by Antall on February 5. In it Antall expressed the hope that Bratislava would accept (as Budapest had done) the EC compromise proposal for solving the Gabcikovo issue.

Herman stressed that Hungary does not reject a summit meeting and believes that it might ease the political tension which has built up since the diversion (by Slovakia) of the Danube's waters.

But Budapest regards it important that before this meeting the two states turn jointly to the International Court of Justice in The Hague and that the Slovak Government unequivocally voices its consent to the EC compromise proposals concerning a temporary Danube water regime.

Herman said that Budapest was still waiting for Bratislava's concrete proposal on the time and place of the signature of this joint request.

Herman announced that Antall had received lately a letter from the President of the EC Commission Jacques Delors concerning the Gabcikovo project. In the letter Delors pointed out that if the Gabcikovo issue is not solved, this could cause political tension and adversely affect the cooperation within the Visegrad Grouping. Delors called the previous steps taken by Hungary realistic and facilitating progress.

Delors believes that there is time for a necessary political decision at the top level. Herman said in this context that Budapest had already made this political decision, had accepted the EC compromise proposal and now was expecting Bratislava to do the same.

### Official Seeks Details on Foreign Patrol Boats

*LD0903200293 Budapest MTI in English 1930 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Budapest, March 9 (MTI)—Laszlo Kovacs, chairman of the Foreign affairs committee of parliament, on Wednesday will ask the Foreign Ministry for

exact details on news from a Pentagon source that boats from West European NATO states, and perhaps the United States, will patrol Bulgarian and Romanian sections of the Danube to enforce the UN embargo on Serbia and Montenegro.

Kovacs, a socialist, told MTI that 'the parliament of Hungary, a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council, gave approval nearly a year ago for, if need be, UN peacekeeping troops to cross, or be stationed on, Hungarian territory. Under this parliamentary approval, the government let AWACS planes patrol in Hungarian air space with NATO control, and aircraft with humanitarian supplies for Bosnia fly over the country. The idea of passage through Hungary will probably be raised in this case, too,' he said.

Kovacs feels it important for the foreign affairs and defence committees to examine the issue and related risks to Hungary's security. 'The importance of the issue may make it necessary for the government to share political responsibility for the decision with lawmakers,' Kovacs said.

### Interview With Csurka on Territorial Claims

*AU1003094093 Zagreb GLOBUS in Serbo-Croatian 26 Feb 93 pp 7, 8*

[Interview with Istvan Csurka, vice president of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, by Branimir Baron Brljevic in Budapest; date not given: "If We Had the Military Power, We Would Restore Baranja and Vojvodina to Hungary!"—first four paragraphs are GLOBUS introduction]

[Text] Among others now keeping court in the lobby of the building on Szeczeny 19, the former seat of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Communists, an architectural "horror" situated on the left, the Pest bank of the Danube, is Istvan Csurka, the most popular contemporary Hungarian writer and most hated of all politicians. The vice president of the ruling Hungarian party, the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], and the probable successor of the terminally ill Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, this 60 year old cofounder of the party, the driving force of changes in the East European countries, is the target of leading world media, a target at which the deadliest bullets are fired: fascist, neo-Nazi, anti-Semite, populist. Also waiting for an interview with Csurka are Georg Paul Hefty from the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, Jan Zizka from RUDE PRAVA, Peter Green from US NEWS, and another 15 journalists from leading international newspapers.

I urge him to talk about the time when his works were not allowed to be published, yet at the same time, his plays were in the repertoire of five Budapest theaters.... Csurka says he is not like Gyorgy Konrad or Hungarian President Arpad Goncz, whose mild dissidence only served the regime. The regime however, did not reward them for their services, unlike myself, whom they twice awarded the highest Hungarian literary prize. MAGYAR FORUM, a magazine published under Csurka's patronage, published his Manifesto on eight pages. This Manifesto is intended to be the new party program of the MDF. I remind him that many people consider it to be national-socialist, that terms like "Lebensraum" from Adolf Hitler's "Mein Kampf" appear in it, that the term "Judapest," a new name for the Hungarian capital because of the 150,000 Jews who live there, is thought to be his invention, that, according to him, communism is a Jewish invention, that for him, the term "Jew" is a swearword, that he sent the Russians on their way with the slogan "Goodbye, comrades!" which appeared on his posters during the election campaign.

"This is only partly true," says Csurka and adds, "You journalists like lies, because they have more charm, they are more interesting than the truth."

Nevertheless, Csurka's latest announcement that in a year's time, after the parliamentary elections, the "Hungarian opposition will no longer be Hungarian, but Jewish," is impressive. The article published in Csurka's magazine that disqualifies the prime minister in an exceptionally harsh way should be viewed in the same context. To this, Csurka says: "Look at the facts: can a nation be expected to elect an individual whose health is not satisfactory to be the number one man, the responsible leader of the people? Antall is not only a statesman, he is much more—he is a tragic figure."

[Brljevic] In the former socialist countries, disappointment with the changes, glorified towards the end of 1989, is increasing. Is the Hungarian situation not a sign that democracy is once again threatened in East and Central Europe?

[Csurka] Of course, but the extent of this is not the same everywhere. There are countries where it is not threatened because it does not exist, it has not even been defined. In Hungary, democracy developed, so now it is threatened. The present government was unable to convince the masses that a change of authority really had taken place. The framework of a civil state has been established, but the majority of positions are still held by the same people. People see that employers on all levels, are still the same people. The former and present power wielders have privileges in many areas, because the government is afraid that owing to general dissatisfaction, it might fall. They are waiting for it to happen.

[Brljevic] Who are "they"? Communists? Jews? Is this accidental or is it a plot?

[Csurka] You have already answered this with your question. It is definitely not accidental. Hungarian Jews suffered great losses during the war. Those that managed to survive, came back, asked for protection and participated in building a system which guaranteed that another system that would again persecute them, would not come to power. A natural, human response. That is why their number in the Communist Party was not in

proportion to their number among the population. Nowadays, the liberal democrats represent the largest opposition party and most of its membership is of Jewish extraction. Among them there are those who say they are Jewish, although in communist times they did not feel this way. That is the way in which they are trying to hold on to power, because those of us who want to remove the former Communists and the inefficient ones are supposedly anti-Semites. We are going round and round in a circle which they want to close. Very clever.

[Brljevic] On what do you base your assumption that because of Jews and Communists, democracy might wilt before it is firmly rooted?

[Csurka] You see, on the one hand we have a government in which there are no former Communists, yet this government functions with the help of a system that is full of former Communists, leading figures in the economy. They are mutually connected and it is ridiculous to talk about a market economy when what we really have is still a monopoly.

[Brljevic] People say that with your Manifesto on the position of Hungary, you have ignited a "stink bomb of great destructive power," comprised of fascist and Nazi vocabulary. Do you really want a totalitarian Hungary?

[Csurka] Whoever has really read my Manifesto, knows what my vision of the Hungarian road to democracy is, my search for a new Hungarian identity.

[Brljevic] Is the nation not the only constant in your search for a new Hungarian identity?

[Csurka] Ten years ago, I wrote that the nation was the only constant, the only source of creative energy that, unlike faith and family, Communism had been unable to destroy. If someone wants to build a new society, especially in Hungary, then he must not forget that the only thing at his disposal is national consciousness, the same one that initiated the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, which was extinguished in blood.

[Brljevic] Your articles and statements could be interpreted otherwise. You write about the end of Yalta, according to which the border ran along the River Drina, and then about the unfair Trianon Peace Treaty of 1918, according to which Hungary lost two-thirds of its territory. Is a desire for a revision of the borders not behind this?

[Csurka] Very well, are the Serbs not trying to revise certain borders? The world is using my healthy, Hungarian nationalism as a target so that they can miss Serbian Nazism. The Serbs are exterminating whole peoples, they are ethnically cleansing huge areas, they have already killed hundreds of thousands of people, they are imprisoning people in concentration camps, banishing millions from their homes. Many of these people end up in Hungary among other places, where we then have to take care of refugees, because we are humans, not animals.

[Brljevic] For now, you are satisfied with looking after the national rights of Hungarians in "former Hungarian lands." Does this mean that in the future, you will try to get back the "Lebensraum?"

[Csurka] We would like that very much, but to think of regaining territories that used to belong to Hungary, one must have adequate economic and military power. We do not believe that in the world there are countries who are not quite aware of the fact that Hungary possesses neither. Milosevic is tolerated and nothing is said because he has a military potential amassed over decades. He is conquering countries that were never Serbian, only because they have a Serbian grave or a Serb in them.

[Brljevic] But Mr. Csurka, in Serbia everything started with rhetoric and incitement very similar to your own.

[Csurka] Hungary is not Serbia. If the mother country, Hungary, does not take care of the Hungarian national entity outside of its present borders, then our national entity will be lost forever. We want to protect Hungarians in Romania, Slovakia, Vojvodina, Baranja and everywhere where Hungarians have lived for over a thousand years and where they have the right to go on living as Hungarians.

[Brljevic] The aggressive tone of Serbian policy does not herald the end of imperialism over there. Are you not afraid of Paroski's threats, who said that Baranja was neither Hungarian nor Croatian? Moreover, half of Hungary is Serbian territory. From Sarbograd in the south to Visegrad in the north of Hungary. In the middle is St. Endre, a Serbian enclave from the time of the Turks....

[Csurka] It is a good thing you said "from the time of the Turks." Serbs found refuge here when they fled before the Turkish occupation, just as they found it in Croatia. Being shameless and ungrateful, they will go on provoking until someone decides to put an end to this. In Baranja, they razed three Hungarian villages and banished the Hungarian population that had fought side-by-side with their fellow villagers, the Croats. They continue to populate Vojvodina with Serbs, thus changing the demographic picture, which is very sad. Europe either cannot or will not deal with this aggressive nationalism and extermination of other nations, which is real fascism and Nazism, though it is rarely called that. The question is what others need to do, what we Hungarians need to do. Keep quiet or speak up? Should we not protect ourselves? When we see what is happening to our brothers and sisters right here on our doorstep, can anyone condemn us for trying to find effective means to defend ourselves? I believe there is no other way. A nation must emerge, it must grow stronger!

[Brljevic] By strengthening Hungarian nationalism, are you not doing a disservice to your minority in neighboring countries?

[Csurka] The governments of neighboring countries have been breeding distrust in members of the Hungarian

minority for forty years, not since the publication of my Manifesto. I am not saying that we would not have territorial claims. They are legitimate. Both in the case of Baranja and Vojvodina, if you insist. But we do not have the means to realize these ambitions for reasons I have already mentioned. On the other hand, there are others who want a part of Hungary. Just think of the dam on the Danube near Nagymaros. We gave up the idea of a joint business venture there. The Slovaks want to continue on their own. However, that means they want to arbitrarily change the borders. The border runs thorough the middle of the Danube. As soon as the first phase of the dam is completed, the Danube will become its own draining channel. In this way, the border will shift to our disadvantage.

[Brljevic] Can you not solve that by negotiating?

[Csurka] I am in favor of negotiations. Moreover, we need to negotiate about Yalta, because many dangers have sprung up in our Central European area since Serbian nationalism has gone berserk. Europe is looking for new concepts.

[Brljevic] Your thought is not a new one. "Lebensraum" is a term you like to use. This is surely not the only reason that your party colleague Jozsef Debreczeni calls you a "fascist." Gyorgy Konrad, a writer of international renown, mentions the words "aggression," "betrayal of the country" and "soiling one's own nest" next to your name.

[Csurka] What is the statement that my thought is nothing new supposed to mean? After fifty years, these are new ideas. The term "Lebensraum" does not have the same connotation in Hungary that it had in "Mein Kampf." I do not understand the term as denoting expansionism. It is a very rich, expressive term, having a very compressed meaning, when it is not used to express the desire to expand the territory to the advantage of one's own people and to the disadvantage of another. We say: we have been living here for a thousand years and we want to go on living here. We should not judge terms, nor judge by them, as the Hungarian opposition is doing. Just remember the scandal involving Kalashnikovs. When the Serbs found out that we had sold 10 or 20,000 Kalashnikovs to the Croatian police, our foreign minister went out of his way to apologize to the them. Only because the Communist, Jewish, supposedly liberal opposition dared to call this affair with the Kalashnikovs "a betrayal of the country" and involvement in the conflict, despite the fact that the Serbs had already attacked Hungarian villages, razed some of them and driven out the population. I want to remind you of another thing. On 27 September 1987, a group of one hundred intellectuals, founded the MDF in a tent in the village of Lekitelek. We invited Mr. Konrad, and he was present. Not as a cofounder, but as a guest. Only a day or two later, an article by Konrad was published in the NEW YORK TIMES, which said that in Lekitelek, a group of Hungarian nationalists and anti-Semites had founded their national-socialist party. Since then, neither he, nor all those other leftists, former Communists, servants of the former regime and so-called liberals, have not given us a moment's peace. They call us "stinkfeet" [smrdonosci], "white socks" and "uneducated fascists." They went on visits to America, where they tried to compromise us, especially after we won the elections. Can we not draw a parallel with your Croatian situation? The party is now a ruling party and it identifies with Hungary. Believe me, we sometimes ask ourselves whether the behavior of this so-called liberal opposition, these internationalists and cosmopolitans, is really a betrayal of the country? Our President Goncz knows very well that this is so, and he can go on having fits because I choose to call things by their proper names, in all forums, rather than keeping silent about things that hurt the eye and ear.

[Brljevic] After the Russian Parliament voted on a proposal for the government to have sanctions imposed on Croatia, the attempt to restore the Russian danger has become evident.

[Csurka] The West is shocked by the disintegration of the Soviet Union. There is no doubt that the closing stage of dismantling the Soviet threat can escape control, and this poses a real danger to the entire world. I fear that Iran might purchase the Russian nuclear potential. It cannot be excluded that the Serbs might do the same. I know the Russians well. With them, everything is for sale. This was very evident here, before the Russian troops withdrew. Machine guns, sniper guns, tanks, everything could be bought. They pulled sockets out of walls. If I were you, I would go and take some photographs of the deserted Soviet barracks in order to get a picture of what the Soviet system represented here. It was the same everywhere and it has not changed a bit. Maybe unconsciously, our opposition is helping restore the Soviet danger. In a public debate about the alleged persecution of President Goncz by the former regime, it came to light that he had been their "favorite," and that because of this, he had received some minor literary prizes. Even in Communist times, care was taken not to overdo it when rewarding servants. Prizes had to be awarded to the best writers, so I got two prizes. In spite of this, I did not have to kneel before the Communists. There is no one else in Hungary who so successfully poked fun at communism. Anyone who knows me by my international success, Mourning For the Janitor, is aware just how uncorrupt I was. This of course, does not deter the representatives of the nomenklature to grovel at the feet of President Goncz, whose plays are nowadays being staged everywhere. Mine of course, are once again under attack, because I am perpetually unwanted. Even the theaters in Budapest are in the hands of the opposition, the so-called liberals.

[Brljevic] Jews you mean, to call things by their proper name? According to you, the Jews are allies with the nomenklature and the international world of banking

and finance, a world that has always been against "everything Hungarian." You have already eliminated many of them from radio, television, the papers.

[Csurka] We were really successful at cleansing the media of remnants of the former regime. Moreover, I was not the one to invent the Jewish lobby. The fact that the Jews are a people who have suffered enormously, is not directly connected to their lobbying and intrigues. Other peoples have also suffered in the course of history. At times I do not understand why the Jews guard their suffering so jealously. It seems as if they want to use this in order to inflict on others what was inflicted on them.

[Brljevic] You especially insist on their influence in the media. Would it not be more correct to say that the MDF wants to take charge of the media in order to ensure its victory in the next elections?

[Csurka] There is only one fact: radio and television are openly inciting the public against the government. They show no restraint in terrorizing the government; they are slowly bleeding it to death.

[Brljevic] But you, and tens of thousands of your supporters have stormed the building of the Radio Television Network. Who is actually terrorizing who?

[Csurka] Unlike them, we are capable of mobilizing people, who have also recognized the concealed danger. This demonstration was an expression of Hungarian dissatisfaction, nothing else.

[Brljevic] What has happened to the guaranteed freedom of the press? It is stipulated in your Constitution, am I right?

[Csurka] Would you call it freedom of the press, when every day, 90 percent of Hungarian papers say the same thing, want the same thing? I hope we are about to have freedom of the press. What we have now is hysteria, the masking of former totalitarian individuals with new clothes.

Nowadays, everyone is raging at the government and the MDF because they did what had to be done. What can happen now? The next elections might be won by these former Communists and their supporters, all this supposedly liberal riff-raff, who have been attacking us from the opposition, yet did not have the guts to undertake something by themselves. They are the wise ones who can do anything and know everything. I have warned of this danger and I am still warning, because I care for Hungary; I care for my people. I only want to protect them.

### Csurka Denies Making Statements

*93P20103A Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 27 Feb 93 p 4*

[Boxed item in article by UJ MAGYARORSZAG correspondent: "The Interviewee Refutes: Hungary Is Not Serbia"]

[Text] We asked Istvan Csurka' opinion about the article [published by the Zagreb weekly newspaper GLOBUS]. The writer-politician responded briefly to the item. As he said, it is necessary to be acquainted with the complete text of the whole article in order for him to express an opinion. As far as the tone of the writing, he stated the following: "I am not surprised that the interview was written in such a manner, because the Hungarian press writes about me in the same style. I did not say, however, that I would gladly take the opportunity, if we [Hungary] had the military might, to reannex Baranya county and Vojvodina, because never in my life have I ever said, or even thought, anything that stupid. Since the article in front of me is already a summary of the original item, that is, a report on the report, I do not know what phrases were used in the original Croatian language article. I can only reiterate that I have not said anything like that."

### Re-Election of MDF Faction Leadership Viewed

*AU0903123593 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 8 Mar 93 p 3*

[Interview with Bela Horvath, parliamentary deputy of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, by Pal Szombathy; place and date not given: "The Deputies' Group Has Fallen to Pieces"]

[Text] In the year preceding the elections, it would have been better to elect experts to the leadership of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] parliamentary faction, Bela Horvath said, assessing the weekend meeting of the faction. He said that [Faction Leader] Imre Konya needed "silent" faction members. He also confirmed our previous information that the list of names for the new body had been prepared and coordinated prior to the meeting. Horvath says that the group of deputies has fallen to pieces.

[Szombathy] In your view, was there any coordination between the various power groups before the the re-election of officers?

[Horvath] I do not know. However, I saw a central list on Saturday [6 March] morning which was given to the deputies. Naturally, not to everyone.... The list of elected people only differed from the preliminary list by one, with Bertalan Andrasfalvy in place of Ferenc Grezsa. Otherwise, the same people were elected as were on the list.

[Szombathy] What are your views on the re-election of officers and the new faction leadership in view of the fact that none of the politicians of the Hungarian Way were elected?

[Horvath] Every democratic election has to be recognized, whatever happens. I would compare this faction leadership to a human policy cabinet. There is only one expert among the politicians and personalities, namely Gyula Takacsy, chairman of the economic committee. In

1993, with Parliament facing particularly important economic legislation, it would be good to have elected experts rather than physical education teachers, public educators, literary people, and newspaper editors into this body.

[Szombathy] What is your view on the fact that Jozsef Antall has again sharply criticized the Hungarian Way?

[Horvath] Indeed, in the past week or two, we have seen a witch-hunt. A psychological war is being waged against the politicians of the Hungarian Way. This is clearly shown by the fact that Imre Konya's statement made in the middle of last week—saying that no Hungarian Way politician can be part of the new leadership—was repeated every hour on radio. We were suppressed to such an extent by the end of the week that not even the prime minister could give a new direction to this any more, in spite of the fact that he defended the members of the Hungarian Way Foundation's board and a number of National Presidium members who had become part of this body from the MAGYAR FORUM's list. Antall stood by these people but was unable to reverse the process.

[Szombathy] Do you agree with Imre Konya's view that the popular-national trend is adequately represented in the new faction leadership?

[Horvath] We are witnessing a new process of labelling people. Deputies who in the past could in no way have been characterized as popular-nationalists have appeared from obscurity as so-called leaders of this wing. I do not think it is healthy that little-known politicians who have not meant much in domestic political life, either to the MDF membership or to the public, have acquired positions. It also makes me wonder why five members of the eight-member body left, which is a radical renewal. In the year preceding the elections, I would have expected a much more marked, well-known, and professionally suitable leadership with members who have already proved themselves. It seems that Konya needs silent, quiet, and withdrawn faction members.

[Szombathy] Could the Hungarian Way have provided members for the new leadership?

[Horvath] We would probably have been able to produce one or two recognized experts—it is enough to think of Zsolt Zetenyi and we also have economic experts. However, I am not necessarily thinking of Hungarian Way members. This is a faction of 160 members! I feel that it is very harmful that quite a few deputies—who are nowhere near the Hungarian Way—are disappointed because they have done excellent professional work but are made to feel that they are not needed. A number of them have said that new mechanisms of survival are emerging within the MDF faction. Some people are collecting "merit badges," some are making loyal campaign speeches, while others are actually looking at various ways of withdrawal. The groups of deputies have split down to their elements.

[Szombathy] How long can the MDF and the Hungarian Way stay together after all this? This has been an open split.

[Horvath] No, it has not. Both sides have received their own criticism. Everything will continue as before.

[Szombathy] Has this resolved the MDF's internal conflict or has it only delayed it? Konya certainly stood for unity....

[Horvath] Everyone expressed his faith in unity, including the representatives of the Hungarian Way. There is no better solution than unity.

## Election Prospects of Political Parties Assessed

*AU0803174293 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 5 Mar 93 p 4*

[Interview with political scientist Attila Agh by Horvath; place and date not given: "Attila Agh: The Hungarian Socialist Party's Big March Will Be in 1998—The Gray Zone Between Two Roads"]

[Text] [Horvath] The parties are becoming active. Last weekend, almost all representatives of the political spectrum participated in the two-day conference in Kisujszallas where popular politics was the topic of discussion. On 24 February, to the surprise of many people, the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] and the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] made an election agreement. As for the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], it is continuing to split up, now publicly. Istvan Csurka wrote about this in HUNGARIAN FORUM recently. He began his article by saying: "On 24 February, the national presidium of the MDF dissociated itself from the Hungarian Way Movement in a statement.... If Hungarian history is ever going to be written again, then its authors will establish that the final collapse of the MDF based on the Lakitelek principles began with this."

We asked Attila Agh for his views on the country's political map after the SZDSZ and the FIDESZ signed a cooperation agreement and after an increasing number of people within the MDF have also admitted the party's split.

[Agh] As a general remark, I note that it has been possible to foresee these tendencies for a long time now and they have not caused real surprise. The date of these was the only thing we did not know, namely when the MDF would split into two and when the SZDSZ and the FIDESZ would come to a closer agreement. In my view, both processes have been delayed. These events cannot be viewed in isolation, though. Contrary factors have also come to the forefront. So-called mediating forums have emerged—in the shape of civil social organizations—and these try to maintain, for example, unity in the MDF. This gray zone tries to ensure communication between the Hungarian Way and the MDF that is the other way.

[Horvath] In your view, the elections agreement of the SZDSZ and the FIDESZ is not very striking and is inaccurate.

[Agh] It is no accident that the newspapers had to publish the entire text. It would have been difficult to summarize it. However, I emphasize that the current processes do not indicate marked change and the election fronts will not be decided by these. It is important to know whether there are new entrants in the elections and whether these will be able to enter as parties and set up a national list. At the moment, the rapprochement of the leftovers of the MDF without Csurka, the FIDESZ, and the Christian Democratic People's Party seems more likely than a coalition centered around the SZDSZ and the FIDESZ with a third partner. The changes that have come to light are not certain to reshape the map of Hungarian politics. In addition to the number of votes the leading parties will receive, the 1994 elections, as I have already mentioned, also depend on the number of votes the new entrants and other parties receive.

[Horvath] Do you consider the National Democratic Alliance [NDSZ] among the new entrants?

[Agh] I do not give the NDSZ any chance of getting into parliament.

[Horvath] You have not yet said anything about the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP].

[Agh] This is because the MSZP has the simplest situation. It would now be difficult to stop it from becoming one of the big parties from among the medium-sized parties; it is expected to get 15 to 20 percent of the votes. However, it is not essential for the MSZP to become part of the government. The 1998 elections will be the "big march" for the MSZP.

## FIDESZ Develops Economic Policy

*AU0703124493 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 2 Mar 93 p 8*

[Interview with Attila Chikan, faculty leader at Budapest Economic University, by Laszlo Doczy; place and date not given: "The FIDESZ Promises Are the Same as Those of the Government—Attila Chikan on the Party's Economic Platform"]

[Excerpts] The experts of the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] have accepted the party's economic platform. The document urges establishment of an enterprise-friendly economic environment that wishes to stimulate the economy through, among other things, changing the tax system, long-term investment of foreign capital, and more efficient operation of state property; it does not consider further reduction of inflation to be a top priority. Should it come to power, what actual measures would the FIDESZ use to implement the general goals of this platform? Our correspondent interviewed Attila Chikan, who led the working group who formulated it. [passage omitted]

[Doczy] It is well known that the FIDESZ would like an economic policy that is more liberal than the current one and which reduces the state role. How do they wish to implement this while bearing in mind the current state obligations?

[Chikan] In our view, the reasons of the current economic crisis situation lie partly in the past 40 years—in fact, we can go even further back because even before the war, Hungary was not among the most developed countries of the world—and they can partly be explained by the failures of the present government. I will return to these failures later. All in all, we also think that the economic policy changes cannot be implemented quickly and radically, therefore, the FIDESZ does not promise that the problems will cease to exist and living standards improve immediately after a change in government.

[Doczy] This view coincides with the government forecast.

[Chikan] From this point of view, the FIDESZ indeed is making the same promise as the government. In fact, I also have to say that the FIDESZ approves the so-called Kupa program and many of the government economic policy goals and principles. Therefore, the differences are mainly in implementation rather than in policy principles. The main source of the problems is the fact that we have a basically conservative government forced to have a liberal economic policy because of the nature of the economic transition. This results in constant conflict between the liberal principles of government policy and the Antall government's conservative economic philosophy. This conflict is usually resolved to the detriment of the economy.

### The Compensation Has To Be Accepted

[Doczy] Would you quote an example?

[Chikan] Compensation, motivated solely by political reasons, is a typical example. Naturally, the compensation is completely justified ethically, but the chosen method of implementation lacks any kind of economic justification. It gives money to people and gets nothing in exchange, which leads to more money in circulation, therefore working against the anti-inflation policy.

[Doczy] Compensation was a social demand that had to be taken on by the first democratically elected government. The process is largely over and no new compensation is planned by the Antall government. How does the FIDESZ program differ from this? Does it perhaps want to reverse the current process?

[Chikan] Nothing like that. All the program says about this is that the negative economic consequences of compensation have to be eliminated as soon as possible and with the least loss. Rather than compensation—that actually caused less economic damage than expected—it is the privatization process that is the most important issue now. According to the FIDESZ, the best way economic growth can be assisted is by speeding up

privatization by all possible and economically rational means. We do not list the various methods of dispensing, for example, credit notes or coupons among the rational means of privatization and, essentially, this is another clash between the government's political interests and economic reason. The FIDESZ wants to speed up the process in an organic way in which property would be given to those who, perhaps with reasonable concessions on payment terms, can actually pay the price and who also have the necessary resources for operating the property. In addition to foreign investors, entrepreneurs and company managers can be listed among these people, but the FIDESZ also supports the workers' wish to acquire property. "How good" an enterprise's ownership structure is depends on the situation and the characteristics of the enterprise. [passage omitted]

[Doczy] In addition to the ownership structure, what other means does the FIDESZ want to use to boost economic growth?

[Chikan] There is a danger that the government will try to artificially promote growth through pumping money into the economy. We are convinced that lasting growth can only be achieved in a systemic way. In addition to domestic stability and an atmosphere that encourages investment, this also supposes certain political factors abroad. Most of these factors are missing at the moment, however....

**Owner Foreign Banks**

[Doczy] Hungary's reputation is almost unique in the region. What improvement is necessary over first place?

[Chikan] It is little comfort that our image is better than the others if we cannot get out of our difficult economic situation. I do not actually like these comparisons, and it is a fact that most foreign capital in Hungary is present in a form that can be withdrawn at any moment. Also, trust is missing to the same extent domestically. The fact that people are only willing to make long-term investments is a sign of this.

[Doczy] How could the technical conditions for an economic upturn be improved?

[Chikan] Unfortunately, the institutional system for capital and finance is still unable to mobilize sufficient savings to make them the financial basis of investment. Similarly to the government, the FIDESZ is also in favor of privatizing banks while increasing the capital, but we do not reject the notion that foreign banks should acquire a considerable share of the domestic financial institutions. In our view, the current government bears great responsibility for failing to reform the administrative arm of the state. For this reason, social security, health care, and education continue to deteriorate although they use a growing proportion of gross national product. We do not want to spend less on these areas, but we would like the money to reach those who really need it.

### Walesa, Suchocka Satisfied With IMF Credit

*WS0903131093 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1100 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[From the "Wiadomosci" newscast]

[Text] Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka participated in the mass at the Belwedere, and then she joined President Lech Walesa at breakfast. After the meeting she said she could not imagine being premier without the close cooperation of the president. The prime minister informed the president about her recent visits to Vienna and London. It was with satisfaction that Lech Walesa and Hanna Suchocka received the news on the International Monetary Fund giving Poland over $650 million credit.

[Begin recording] [Walesa] The west is really very cautious, and it painstakingly checks all its activities. So we can be confident that the west will see that Poland is, after all, undergoing reforms, that the reforms are yielding results, that our country is worth investing in and helping.

[Suchocka] The west can see that we are consistently heading for reforms, and the adoption of the budget was a decisive step which helped the International Monetary Fund make such a decision. [end recording]

The president and the prime minister said that they had not discussed the details of proposing Marek Markiewicz for the chairman of the National Council of Radio and Television.

### Skubiszewski, NATO Secretary-General Meet

*LD0903160593 Warsaw PAP in English 1447 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Brussels, March 9—After a meeting with NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner, Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski told reporters on Tuesday that Poland's relations with NATO are "very good" and added his country is going "step by step" towards NATO membership. "Each step must be successful, before we make the next one," Skubiszewski said.

Commenting on the talks Skubiszewski said they touched upon Russia and the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, and added he told Woerner that a standard peace operation in the war-torn Balkan country was not enough. "In this kind of war there is the opportunity for NATO to act together with other partners, also with our participation," Skubiszewski said.

Referring to his meeting earlier on Tuesday with Willem van Eekelen, secretary-general of the Western European Union (WEU), the Polish foreign minister described the Union as an important partner for Poland, and said Poland is developing "consultative" relations with WEU. "We would like WEU to take into consideration our point of view concerning security questions," he stressed.

Skubiszewski is scheduled to return to Poland from his two-day visit to Brussels later on Tuesday.

### Jaruzelski Defends Decision To Declare Martial Law

*LD0903133493 Warsaw PAP in English 1312 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Warsaw, March 9—Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski told the Sejm Committee for Constitutional Accountability Tuesday that by defending his decision to declare martial law on December 13, 1981, he "defends the road that, although bumpy and winding, eventually led to the round table talks." The committee examines a preliminary motion to call authors of martial law to account before the Tribunal of State.

Jaruzelski said he did not want to be "either the uncritical advocate of martial law or all the more its masochistic accuser." He said that the assessment of martial law, particularly today, was determined by a political need and a rankling desire to settle scores.

The main architect of martial law extensively presented his point of view on the situation in Poland and abroad in 1981 and on steps taken by the Communist Party, the authorities and the Solidarity. He added that he knew the Soviet Union's imperial status too well and the limit of risk that must not be overstepped.

### Democratic Union Congress Discusses Compromises

*AU1003122793 Warsaw PAP in English 1906 GMT 7 Mar 93*

[Text] Warsaw, March 7—The Warsaw chapter of the Democratic Union (UD) began a two-day congress on Saturday [6 March], during which new Warsaw authorities to the party and delegates for the UD national congress, to be held on April 24 and 25, are to be elected.

During the Saturday meeting, chairman of the parliamentary caucus of the UD Bronislaw Geremek stated that his party will remain a part of the government coalition for as long as its programmes are carried out.

"We hadn't ever promised our coalition partners that we would agree to betray our fundamental programmatic principles," he said. Geremek added however that "although we often experience dissatisfaction, we have to admit that in coalition politics compromises must be made."

Geremek also stated that although the UD is against speeding up parliamentary elections, it is in favor of a fast preparation of electoral regulations. "Elections at this time would only serve the interest of particular groups and would neither be beneficial to the stability of the country nor to Poland's image abroad," he said. If the elections must take place, however, they should be conducted on a rational basis, Geremek added.

UD leader Tadeusz Mazowiecki on Sunday told the congress that "this government, which has restored Poland's good standing in the world, remains the only right, although difficult, option."

He recalled that the union had cut short the follies of the previous cabinet becoming a co-founder of the present government.

In his opinion, the implementation of a joint programme is rather a hard task given the variety of parties making up the ruling coalition. "We often feel that it is the union that pays the highest price not always receiving loyalty in return. But the union will support this government guided by the basic principle of responsibility for the country and the union's identity."

He stressed that out of two different ways of future development, the UD has chosen the way of gradual and persistent effort of building democratic structures in order to create a strong, decentralized country therefore rejecting the idea of permanent cultural revolutions.

The Warsaw congress of the UD ended with the election of Jan Kossakowski, member of the social-liberal faction of the party, as the Warsaw UD council's chairman.

## Radio, TV Council Chairman Interviewed

*WS0903143093 Warsaw Radio Zet in Polish 0715 GMT 5 March 93*

[Studio interview with Marek Markiewicz, chairman of the National Radio and Television Council, by Andrzej Wojciechowski; from the "Guest of Radio Zet" program—live]

[Text] [Wojciechowski] Guest of Radio Zet today is Marek Markiewicz, chairman of the National Radio and Television Council. How can you be a chairman of something that does not even exist?

[Markiewicz] Well, it is possible, because one should prepare everything necessary so that a body, which will be soon established, can start its work immediately. Second, one should do one's best to ensure that this body is actually established. It takes a lot of effort to convince people that the law has already been in effect since 1 March. Finally, you have to distinguish between a visit and an inspection. Even my visit is and should always be official, and it should serve as a reminder about complying with provisions of the law, including the one saying that no one—and I am saying this with sympathy for Radio Zet— has the right to broadcast his programs without permission. This is the point that I want to remain clear on.

[Wojciechowski] This is your fifth day in your capacity as chairman. What have you done over those days? The media reported that you attempted to exert influence on the Senate and Sejm speakers to hasten the election of the council members. Did you succeed in doing so?

[Markiewicz] I do not fancy myself as someone who is able to influence the Senate and Sejm speakers. I have merely asked them to see that the Senate and Sejm's responsibilities are quickly performed. These responsibilities require these two chambers to appoint two and four council members, respectively. I also had to explain to representatives of different parties that we were committed to fulfill a very important social task. Activation of this law—approved by the Sejm, examined by the Senate, and confirmed by the president—depends on the National Council. It would be a dead law if there were no institution that could carry out specified resolutions, make transformations, and finally, grant frequencies and concessions to the individuals whose broadcasts are technically illegal, as of 1 March. Although, these acts will be considered punishable as of 1 April...

[Wojciechowski, interrupting] Where did this date come from? Why 1 April?

[Markiewicz] Working on this legislation, we assumed that no cuts should be made within this period. However, those who, until now, have broadcast on the basis of temporary permissions should apply en masse for the legalization of their business. After 1 March, the National Council...

[Wojciechowski, interrupting] Is it that famous provision saying that when distributing concessions, the National Council will take into consideration prior compliance with the law?

[Markiewicz] Not simply that it will, but that it must take that into consideration, and I would like to emphasize this decisively.

[Wojciechowski] How accurate are the rumors about political games in the Senate and Sejm, conducted by many parties struggling and haggling with each other to enter the council? Will the council be politicized?

[Markiewicz] Well, it does not have to be a rumor. Political gamesmanship is a trait of the Sejm, as it is of any democratic body. The greater the role given to the National Council, the more conspicuous it is. Let me remind you that we are witnessing the emergence of a body burdened with an immense power and responsibility. This body will immediately demand that laws be obeyed and order on the air be maintained. And finally, this body will have to create a law and certain values by itself. This is a warning that I uttered in the beginning, partly in jest and partly in earnest. But this is also some kind of program of intentions. And what is most interesting, not everyone believes in it. Over those five days, I have often noticed that the National Council is perceived as a body designated to play a marginal role. It is wrong to think so. Just because the law is violated all over the place, it does not necessarily mean that the same pattern will also operate in this new sphere. This is why, sitting in front of the Top Canal [first private television company] cameras and your microphones, I consider it necessary to repeat that the law is and will be maintained. This would be a fundamental principle of the

council's operation. Naturally, the issue of frequencies will stir up high emotions and provoke behind-the-scenes conflicts of political and financial interests. However, it would be an exaggeration to think of radio and television as the only means of providing publicity for politicians or influencing politics. On the other hand, it is true that they are extremely aggressive and important in the political life. With the big money involved, different interest groups will try to make an impact on this process, which is natural for every democracy. The point is that this should be made openly and according to clearly defined rules.

[Wojciechowski] Let us return to politics for a while. Do you have any idea as to who will be your eight colleagues in the council? Will they be politicians or rather professionals?

[Markiewicz] As a lawyer, I can say that they would be the people who, after acquainting themselves with the law, will be ready to accept hardships of exceptionally difficult work and understand that it would be accompanied by a whole range of suspicions, slander, and gossip. These people will have to cope with all this in the name of the public good.

[Wojciechowski] In your opinion, what requirements should these people meet?

[Markiewicz] They should be independent, because their tasks will include even making judgments that set precedents in the consolidation of the order in this field. These people must be absolutely honest. Their activities will be open. As is often the case, they will be misjudged and besieged by various suspicions. They should be alerted to this. On the other hand, they should enjoy the public trust, which they will have to acquire. Finally, they have to realize that a new entity is emerging in the public life, and that the law gives them a tremendous power and constitutional responsibility. We in the Sejm wanted to underscore this while drafting this law. You have mentioned the game of interests. I see it as a natural thing. I would only like to remind you that the arrangement of these interests gives them no chance to succeed. The task of the National Council is to canalize them into working for the public good. I am deeply convinced that something unstained and honest can be created here.

[Wojciechowski] Do you actually believe that it is possible in Poland?

[Markiewicz] If I did not, I would not start on this. This task might fail or succeed, but it would be impossible or even dishonest not to believe in it. To summarize it, the members of the council must be independent and honest and should clearly realize that they will have to drop other activities for two, four, or even six years.

[Wojciechowski] Including the political ones?

[Markiewicz] Yes. This is what the law provides for.

[Wojciechowski] Will you give up your membership in Solidarity and its legislative club? Or, will you reconcile your capacity as a deputy with chairing the National Council?

[Markiewicz] You are touching upon the issue of whether Solidarity is a political party. We do our best to make it clear that Solidarity was not, is not, and will not be one. I am not going to interpret the law, but it mentions membership in political parties and the leadership of associations and unions. I do not and will never belong to such a leadership. Besides, treating my job seriously, I would not even have time for that.

[Wojciechowski] I would like to go back to that magic date of 1 March, when the law took effect. What will you do when the next illegal radio or television station starts to broadcast after this date?

[Markiewicz] I will not do anything. That would be their problem. My obligation, also here, in front of this microphone, is to repeat a banal truth that in such a case they would engage in illegal activities, conducted at their own risk. On my fifth day in office, I wanted to meet with the prime minister, who is in charge of finances and justice, in order to determine the principles of executing the law.

[Wojciechowski, interrupting] Do you have your office, cabinet, or secretary yet? Will you also ask Ms. Suchocka about these things?

[Markiewicz] Not ask. I will attend to it.

[Wojciechowski] Will this be a palace or part of a floor in a building?

[Markiewicz] Oh, no. I was serious when I talked about a little room on 1 March. It should be a workplace for one or two dozen people, because this is exactly...

[Wojciechowski, interrupting] I was just about to ask about this. The relevant apparatus numbers 350 individuals in France and 80 in Czechoslovakia. How many will there be in Poland?

[Markiewicz] It will depend on what tasks the National Council will have. I have an outline of an office for the council, and would like to emphasize that it will not house a team consisting of a secretary and tea-making ladies. This office will have to be prepared to handle a huge bulk of applications as well as to determine its structure. The fact that I am a chairman of something that does not even exist, as you mentioned earlier, is difficult but at the same time challenging. Nothing extreme can happen here at this early stage. As for how many people will work in this body, this question was not specified by the law and is still to be resolved.

[Wojciechowski] What do you like about Polish radio and television? What would you change?

[Markiewicz] My understanding is that the National Council will not be a body directly affecting programming. Its task will be to ensure necessary conditions for the organization of the public and non-public radio and television to lay a legal groundwork for their operation. It would not be a good thing if it attempted to assess a program before it is produced. As for my opinion about television programs, I think that journalists—personally, I still consider myself a journalist—should always remember that they are part of the unique events happening in our life. Generations of journalists in other countries are not given such a chance to watch the birth of a new system, with all of its good and bad sides. I am surprised to see how many journalists are indifferent and nonchalant as well as how many people do not bother to ask questions about what Poland will be like. But so many changes are happening every day.

[Wojciechowski] This was a very diplomatic but very sharp criticism of radio and television. Do you think that they do not keep abreast of reality?

[Markiewicz] Yes, I do. Interestingly, both private and state stations have evolved a new journalist standard of standing aloof of the problem. They would rather pick up some curiosities without an attempt to obtain an in-depth understanding of the problem. I believe that television should become a means to instill values today, as it was in the past.

[Wojciechowski] But is this not an old Solidarity activist speaking for you when you talk about problems and sufferings of the people, while the radio and television keep silent about them?

[Markiewicz] I believe that this is a good thing if this kind of sensitivity, rarely found among many parties, has remained in mind. Only historians of our times will be able to describe the incredible change that we are witnessing. I am fully aware of it every day. As for the input of the media, I can only say that you can learn from them a lot more about what is going on in the world. This is a result of an information system which has spread throughout the world, including Poland.

[Wojciechowski] And which is a reaction to the situation from the past when we knew nothing about the world?

[Markiewicz] Yes. But this brings up a very delicate point here, mounting a big challenge for those who establish a new information order. For example, the question what was the real cause of a strike in Lodz is at the same time a question about the essence of [words indistinct]. But this case is quite clear, so I can compare the real events with their coverage. Here lies the line which the media must not cross, while watching and commenting on events, without developing their own opinions or attitudes. This is a very important thing. Over the last five days, I have noticed that more attention was paid to the shape and role of this fourth power, than to the consequences of its activities.

[Wojciechowski] And finally, I would like to ask you: When do you expect the concessions to be granted? Some media reported about 1 June. Is this realistic?

[Markiewicz] This is also a question of competence of the commentators. You only have to glimpse into the text of the law. The procedure is the following. The Sejm should form the National Council first.

[Wojciechowski, interrupting] When do you think it will do so?

[Markiewicz] The law does not provide for this. I hope that my efforts will hasten the activation of this body as well as the frequency-granting process. A one-day delay in the former results in weeks of delay in the latter. The National Council will not handle applications for concessions until after it is formed and entitled to grant concessions. After that, it will need to have three months, allowed by the law, to receive those applications and still two more weeks to consider them. The whole process may take up to five months. Unlike political games, a domain of politicians, the election of nine responsible individuals is a public matter.

[Wojciechowski] Changing the topic, will you vote for or against the resignation of Balcerowicz?

[Markiewicz] I would like to decline from answering this question. As a member of the legislative constitutional responsibility commission, I am familiar with certain documents and have my own special opinion on this issue. In addition, my new appointment is the other reason why I would rather not answer your question.

## Hungarian Industry and Trade Minister Visits

*LD0903162993 Budapest MTI in English 1626 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Warsaw, March 9 (MTI)—Two days into his official Warsaw visit, Hungarian Industry and Trade Minister Janos Latorcai talked to Foreign Trade Minister Andrzej Arendarski, and met Henryk Goryszewski, deputy prime minister in charge of economic affairs.

At noon, Latorcai continued talks with his counterpart Waclaw Niewiarowski.

In the interval, Latorcai told MTI, "I considered this visit very important in view of the recent drop in two-way trade. Last year's figure was between one-third and a quarter of 1989. I was glad that economic managers could also meet during the visit.

"I had solid talks with my colleague, Waclaw Niewiarowski, and we found a number of areas where governmental means could also be used. We have set up expert groups to examine further cooperation opportunities in the fields of energy production and supply, road vehicle production, pharmaceuticals, chemical and synthetic fibres, and military technology," Latorcai said.

### Discussions With Hungary on Economic Cooperation

*LD0903222193 Warsaw PAP in English 2157 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Warsaw, March 9—Poland and Hungary, acting in tune with agreements on free trade signed by the member-states of the Visegrad group, want to overcome stagnation in mutual trade, Polish Deputy Prime Minister Henryk Goryszewski, Hungarian Minister of Industry and Trade Janos Latorcai and his Polish counterpart Waclaw Niewiarowski declared on Tuesday.

The sides met in Warsaw to discuss prospects for economic cooperation of the two countries and resolved to establish closer cooperation in such domains as steel and arms industries, car production and the program of restructuring the power industry.

The meeting said that closer bilateral relations will help stabilize the economies of the two states in view of the planned lifting of customs duties and the prospective integration with the European Communities.

### German Extradition of Arms Suspect Criticized

*LD0903232193 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 2145 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[No video available]

[Text] Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski described the decision of the German authorities to extradite Rajmund Szwonder, the sixth of the Poles involved in the so-called arms scandal, as incomprehensible. Support for this decision will have a great deal of influence on relations between Warsaw and Bonn, the minister added. Moreover, Washington did not really press for Szwonder's extradition.

Professor Skubiszewski returned today from Brussels where he held talks for two days on our cooperation with NATO, the Western European Union, and on the prospects of Poland entering the EC.

### Talks With Germany End in 'Cautious Optimism'

*LD0903200393 Warsaw PAP in English 1904 GMT 9 MAR 93*

[Text] Warsaw, March 9—The current round of bilateral Polish-German talks on asylum-seekers ended in Warsaw on Tuesday on a note of "cautious optimism," the press office of the Polish Interior Ministry announced.

Tuesday's meeting was the third round of meetings between the two sides.

The two-day meeting of experts from Poland and Germany further examined proposed changes to Germany's asylum laws, which could result in the expulsion from the Federal Republic of thousands of refugees who crossed illegally into the country from Poland and other countries. The experts also examined Polish plans to create the infrastructure necessary to handle the potential inflow to Poland of the expelled refugees.

Participants in the meeting refused to comment on the outcome.

However, Piotr Szczypinski, head of the Interior Ministry press department, said that the Polish side welcomed the willingness of German Federal Interior Minister Rudolf Seiters to seek accommodation on the subject. He re-emphasised that Poland would not agree to accept the return of unsuccessful asylum applicants who will have crossed illegally into the Federal Republic from Poland before the changes to the law shall have come into effect.

The fourth round of negotiations will be held in Germany on April 5-6.

Meanwhile in Bonn, a leading member of the German opposition Social Democratic Party (SDP) called for the asylum problem to be resolved through compromise with Germany's neighbours.

In an interview for the Polish press agency PAP, SPD deputy Guenter Graf, a member of the Bundestag Internal Affairs Commission, stressed that Germany should not try to resolve its immigrant problem at the expense of its neighbours. "We support Poland in her progress towards a strong and united Europe, and it would be contradictory thus to impose on her a burden she is unable to bear."

Graf also noted that the asylum problem is likely to be a major emotional aspect in future election campaigns in Germany, both at federal and at state levels. He called on the ruling Christian Democrats to avoid turning the question into a party political issue.

### Ukrainian Diplomat Satisfied With Relations

*LD0903204393 Warsaw PAP in English 2006 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Warsaw, March 9—According to Ukrainian Ambassador to Poland Gennadiy Udovenko, relations between the two countries are improving with the palpable effect of these contacts being a package of agreements signed by the two sides.

At a meeting with the leadership of the Union of Polish Craftsmen in Warsaw on Tuesday Udovenko announced that the Polish-Ukrainian mixed commission will meet in Lvov, Ukraine, in mid-March to discuss barriers to mutual economic turnover, and named too few border crossing points as one of the obstacles.

Udovenko said that the establishing of a Euroregion "Bug" embracing the border regions of Volyn in Ukraine and Lublin in south-east Poland would be conducive to mutual cooperation.

Ukraine is interested in forming joint ventures with Polish partners, Udovenko said in response to offers of cooperation made by the participants in the meeting.

## Polish-Ukrainian Tensions in Lvov Area Viewed

*PM0903113793 Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 25 Feb 93 p 3*

[Article by Hanna Pasek: "Przemysl-Lwow: Any Stray Word Could Unleash a Storm"]

[Text] All events that take place in Lwow [Lvov] evoke an instant reaction in Przemysl. And vice versa. When, in November last year, a cross was removed from the top of the Byzantine dome of the Carmelite church in Przemysl, the Polish Consul to Lwow had to do a lot of explaining to justify the decision.

Thus, in a news conference, he took time to explain to journalists that an expert report prepared as early as 10 years previously recommended that the whole dome be pulled down because it threatened to collapse. He tried to persuade them that even the Przemysl prosecutor's office did not regard the cross' removal as a prosecutable offense.

His explanations were received with incredulity. Everyone in Lwow remembers that three years ago the Carmelite church was not returned to the Uniates, as originally planned, because of protests by a group of Catholics who staged an organized occupation of the sanctuary. Consequently, the installation of the bishop ordinary of Przemysl in the Ukrainian Greek Catholic rite was celebrated in the Roman Catholic cathedral. It was not until the pope's visit to Przemysl in June 1991 that the former Jesuit garrison church was, on the pope's order, given over to the Uniates. Such experiences are bound to generate mistrust.

After the consul's press conference devoted to the removal of the cross from the dome of the Przemysl basilica, Ivan Shcherba wrote: "Ah well, praise and glory to those who prevented a disaster in time—but would that God gave them also the wisdom and the strength to restore the removed cross and to place it securely on top of the dome so that no one could take it down ever again."

The article contains a number of other malicious and tendentious remarks, but nevertheless it ends on a note with which everyone would surely agree: that an outright confrontation between the two nations would bring...

### No advantage to either side

This became more obvious than ever after the revival of the activities of the group known as the Young Eagles of Przemysl Memorial Association. Recently, this group issued a protest against the return of the former college building in Basztowa Street to the administration of the Przemysl Bishop Jan Martyniak of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic rite.

The decision to return the building to the Uniates was actually made by Primate Jozef Glemp. This did not stop the Young Eagles' activists from addressing a letter of protest to the Primate. The letter, which is full of insolent arrogance as well as mendacious and offensive arguments, was published by the editors of NOWINY RZESZOWSKIE [Rzeszow News] on the principle that "fanaticism ultimately condemns itself." As a result, the editorial office of NOWINY RZESZOWSKIE is now inundated with letters begging the question how a small group of fanatical "visionaries" can be allowed to interfere in normalization of relations between the two countries.

All actions and declarations by Polish nationalists in Ukraine are closely followed, interpreted and commented upon.

### The Atmosphere Is very Tense

... and any ill-judged word spoken in Przemysl or in Lwow can now unleash a full-sized storm, while all those who speak in favor of consensus, regardless of the side they are on, are likely to be accused of being "pro-Ukrainian or pro-Polish."

It is also said that it is largely because of all the misunderstandings and frictions that Bishops Marian Jaworski of Lwow and Jan Martyniak of Przemysl have no official seats in their respective cities and are forced to live in similarly inconvenient circumstances. The neo-Gothic church of St. Elizabeth in Lwow is once again dubbed "the church of St. Elizabeth-the-Hostage." According to an earlier schedule, it was supposed to be returned to the Roman Catholic church, but after the whole fracas with the Carmelite church in Przemysl St. Elizabeth has been kept in non-Catholic hands.

Bozena Rafalska, editor in chief of GAZETA LWOWSKA, a Polish-language weekly whose publication was resumed in 1990 after a break of 46 years, insists that there are no national barriers operating in Lwow today: that all its residents simply want to live in peace and relative prosperity. Nevertheless, problems are bound to appear whenever individual interests, careers, or political pursuits begin to enter the picture. Fortunately, more and more people are now inclined to...

### Understand the Existing Situation...

and seek new ways of forging a workable compact. For example, a dialogue between Bogdan Osadchuk and Jerzy Giedroyc, editor in chief of the Paris KULTURA, was recently published in WYSOKI ZAMEK [High Castle], the new Ukrainian- and Russian-language daily issued in Lwow.

"There is little cooperation taking place between the nations of our region," Giedroyc asserts. "You should note that both the Czech Republic and Hungary find themselves within the German sphere of influence. For the time being, all postcommunist governments suffer

from a shortage of truly creative political ideas. It appears that Kiev does not have a clear concept of a new internal policy, either."

In reply to the question: "What should be done to ensure that Ukraine and Poland finally free themselves from the vicious circle of rhetorically declared undertakings and declarations of cooperation which do not extend beyond the paper they are printed on?" Giedroyc said:

"First, we must firmly resolve to put all our mutual decisions into practice. To that end, we must expand the personnel assigned to our respective consulates so that these become more dynamic centers of cooperation, capable of developing their own initiatives. It is also high time to establish respective cultural, academic, and scientific centers: a Ukrainian establishment in Warsaw, and a Polish one in Kiev. It is essential to intensify and galvanize cooperation between our respective diplomatic posts abroad, for instance in Paris and Brussels. We already have very good results following from such cooperation between Polish and Lithuanian embassies in Paris."

## New Border Crossings With Belarus Planned

*LD0903203993 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1600 GMT 9 Nov 93*

[No video available]

[Text] Wlodawa will assist Terespol. The border crossing at that town is bursting at the seams, whereas in Wlodawa there are two bridges, one road and one rail. They have embankments that lead into the interior of Poland and Belarus that will enable the expeditious provision of connections. The bridges have been inactive since World War II. Investing in the crossings, Wlodawa is counting on a quick enlivening of the economy along the border.

## Security Chief Discusses National Guard

*AU1003083793 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Mar 93 p 2*

[Interview with Jerzy Milewski, head of the Office for National Security, by Pawel Szwed; place and date not given: "We Are Not Scared of the President"]

[Text] [Szwed] After the latest meeting of the National Defense Committee, why did you say that the Committee accepted the Office of National Security's idea of forming a National Guard?

[Milewski] Because that is what happened.

[Szwed] According to our information, the idea was criticized, especially because it calls for presidential control over the National Guard.

[Milewski] The Committee examined the idea and agreed with the accepted procedure of appointing an interministerial team to draft a bill on the National Guard.

[Szwed] So did the Committee criticize your Office's idea of the National Guard or not?

[Milewski] The suggestions made during the talks provide the basis for further work on the bill, which the president will then place before the Sejm.

[Szwed] Whose idea was it to create a National Guard?

[Milewski] The president's. I think he was inspired by the U.S. National Guard, which is one of the oldest units of this type in the world. The name has also been borrowed from the Americans.

[Szwed] Why do we need a National Guard?

[Milewski] To carry out tasks that are presently divided between the Army, police, and other specialized services, and to perform the work of the Vistula Military Units, in other words protect the command centers of the state authorities in time of war. In addition, the National Guard will protect state offices and institutions and diplomatic facilities, and combat the effects of natural disasters. It is also supposed to help the police combat organized crime.

[Szwed] Deputies belonging to the National Defense Committee have said that the National Guard could also be used to quell street disturbances.

[Milewski] It is certainly the type of formation that could be used to keep the peace. It might be used to quell dangerous unrest if the police cannot do so on their own.

[Szwed] How many people should be in the National Guard?

[Milewski] Initially, the same number as in the Vistula Military Units, and by the year 2,000 about 22,000 men.

[Szwed] The Vistula Military Units consist of 11,000 men. First there was talk of 50,000 men in the National Guard, then 40,000, and now you say there are going to be 22,000 men. Is the Belvedere trying to force through the idea of a National Guard at any price?

[Milewski] I repeat, the National Guard will have 22,000 men. I never mentioned any other figure. However, in wartime the National Guard could be built up to 40,000, but not more. This is a small factor of expansion. The regular army can expand four or five times its normal size.

[Szwed] Instead of creating a National Guard, would it be better to expand the existing formations?

[Milewski] We are not creating the National Guard from scratch. We are merely converting the Vistula Military Units.

[Szwed] Well, is it possible to abolish the Vistula Military Units?

[Milewski] If we did that, the Army and police would each receive almost 6,000 men. What would that mean for the police? Five percent of its present manpower figure.

[Szwed] The interior minister would be very pleased to receive these 6,000 men.

[Milewski] I do not doubt it, but he would inherit not just the men, but also the tasks of the Vistula Military Units.

[Szwed] Then why not give him these men?

[Milewski] Because it is better to have a multifunctional force that will perform not only police or military duties but also carry out such tasks as putting out fires.

[Szwed] Is it true that the National Guard will be equipped with artillery?

[Milewski] No. It will have light weapons and vehicles, including armored vehicles, plus helicopters.

[Szwed] Why should the National Guard be controlled by the president?

[Milewski] The president is the most stable part of the Polish executive. He also has a great amount of responsibility for internal and external security. The "small constitution" devotes five articles to this topic.

[Szwed] Then why is presidential control the main reason for criticizing the National Guard?

[Milewski] You should ask the politicians who are doing the criticizing. I think there is no reason to fear presidential control, because it does not mean the National Guard would actually be dependent on the president, nor would it be deprived of parliamentary control. In fact, at the latest National Defense Committee meeting the president spoke firmly in favor of a solution that would give parliament full control over the National Guard. The system of authority in Poland cannot be divided into a pro-Walesa or anti-Walesa stream, or a pro-parliamentary and antiparliamentary one. Not all politicians seem to realize that.

[Szwed] Politicians are afraid of authoritarianism.

[Milewski] These fears are deeply rooted in the past. They already existed in the 12th and 13th centuries. First they led to the principle of liberum veto, and then to the loss of our statehood. Yet there has never been a case where the head of state, whether king or president, has exceeded his powers. However, there have been cases where governors, senators, noblemen, and other power figures have fooled around and weakened the state. This happened because central power was too weak.

[Szwed] Well, let me put it another way. The politicians fear President Walesa's power ambitions.

[Milewski] For God's sake! If we fear our own president instead of internal and external dangers, we will end up the way we did in the 18th century. This is some kind of obsession. We have only just emerged from the Soviet yoke, and already we believe we will be free and secure forever and that the president is our only danger? That is insane.

## Opposition Parties Call For Debate on Security

*LD0903215793 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2000 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Representatives of four opposition parties have issued an appeal at a news conference in Warsaw for the holding of a public debate on the state of public security in Poland. Antoni Macierewicz, of Polish Action; Przemyslaw Hniedziewicz and Romuald Szeremietiew of the Movement for the Republic; Tomasz Jackowski of the Christian Democratic Labor Party; and Bartlomiej Kolodziej of the Center Alliance stated that they have called a conference in association with the television appearance by Jerzy Milewski, head of the National Security Bureau attached to the President's Office.

According to them, in Warsaw television's night program Jerzy Milewski spoke critically of the recent statement by these parties which expressed unease about the application by certain supreme state bodies of, I quote: compromised, communist methods.

## Arms Industry Restructuring Discussed at Meeting

*LD0903161893 Warsaw PAP in English 1521 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Warsaw, March 9—Defence Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz received on Tuesday representatives of the Solidarity Union of the Defence Ministry's civilian employees to discuss problems of the restructuring of the arms industry and the situation of public sector employees.

The sides also discussed and defined the procedures for settling these problems.

## 'Party X' Leader Wants To Reveal Documents on Walesa

*LD0903232593 Warsaw PAP in English 2255 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Warsaw, March 9—Leader of the Party X Stanislaw Tyminski wants to reveal to the public on Polish TV the contents of his "black briefcase," allegedly containing documents compromising President Lech Walesa.

Deputy leader of the Party X Jozef Kossecki on Tuesday [9 March] addressed a letter to the Polish TV stating that Stanislaw Tyminski "requests an opportunity to open publicly his black briefcase in the first programme (live) of the Polish TV."

Asked to comment on the issue, chairman of the radio and tv committee Janusz Zaorski said that he cannot give a positive answer to a request formulated in such an enigmatic way. He added that first he would have to learn about the contents of the mysterious "black briefcase."

Zaorski also noted that in line with a new radio and TV law operating as of March 1, "X-rated programmes" can be broadcast only between 2300 and 0600 hours. And how should I know what sensational materials the leader of the Party X intends to show us," he asked.

## EEC Ministerial Board Passes Interim Accord

*AU0903184393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1715 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/3/1993—The EEC Ministerial Board approved the interim agreement between Romania and EEC, said Romanian governmental sources, an official release in this respect being expected for the days to come.

The interim agreement will be effective starting May 1993, if the Romanian party notifies EEC no later than the end of March that approval procedures in Bucharest have been fulfilled.

## Parliament Debates Vacaroiu Government Program

*AU0903180893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1708 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/3/1993—The Senate and the Chamber of Deputies debated in a joint sitting, Tuesday, March 9, the strategy for economic-social reform of the program of Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu's government.

Deputy Martian Dan, from the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN], mentioned that the leading party did not oppose the reform, as a number of politicians kept saying. On the contrary, he added, it had constantly favored the reform, wanting it to go as deep as it is socially bearable. Martian specified that FDSN had only criticized the management of the country in the period prior to the investment of the current government. FDSN is "against a reform in chaos, pain, and despair, advantageous for a small minority, at the expense of most of the population," he said.

The representatives of all parliamentary groups told their opinion on the Vacaroiu cabinet's documents.

Almost all those who took the floor mentioned that the decline of Romanian economy was more and more obvious every day, with social consequences. Some speakers reproached the current government with having presented a somewhat liberal program, not in keeping with the promises made in the election campaign. The governmental team was reproached with proposing no ways and means to resolve the serious problems facing Romanian society, that its strategy is uniquely "declarative," and that it contains "populist slogans." The parliamentarians mentioned among the shortcomings of the governmental strategy centralism, priority of the state sector at the expense of the private one, and a wrong way of conceiving privatization and finance. The current government was criticized for not having established the responsibilities of the teams having preceded it. There were also voices who accused the National Bank of Romania for weakening the national currency.

Many spoke about corruption and robbery, to which the Vacaroiu government would have not paid serious attention.

A number of parliamentarians criticized the way unemployment and social protection, youth, education, and scientific research issues were approached in the strategy.

The representatives of a number of parties of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR]—the main opposition coalition—namely the National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party [PNTCD], the Liberal Party [PL], and the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], asked the government to assume responsibility for the strategy is had presented in Parliament, function of which a censure motion might be forwarded or not. The National Salvation Front [FSN] said it did not assume alone the responsibility for such a motion, and the Civic Alliance Party [PAC] considered it inopportune. The representatives of the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR], the Socialist Party of Labor [PSM], and the Greater Romania Party [PRM], said they were backing the government, with certain reserves.

## Melescanu Views Current International Issues

*AU0803210193 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 27 Feb 93 p 7*

[Interview with Teodor Melescanu, minister of state and minister of foreign affairs, by Maria Bogdan Radu and Flaviu Pietraru; place and date not given: "Transition in Romania 'Passes Through' Almost Every Country of the World"]

[Text] [AZI] Mr. Minister, considering that this is your very first interview with, we suggest that you begin by offering a broader outline of the issues on which the attention of Romanian diplomacy is currently focused on. In that regard, we would like to ask you to preface our interview with a brief presentation of the current international and especially the European and regional context within which the institution led by you is acting.

[Melescanu] The new element in the situation of East European countries is the fact that the old confrontation-oriented system, which was generated by political, ideological, economic, social, and military contradictions—but which proved to be a stable one—has vanished, its place having been taken by a nonconfrontation-oriented system, albeit not necessarily stabler than its predecessor. Under the current geographical and political circumstances one of the things determining our situation is the fact that Romania is no longer part of a structural system that could ensure its security on the international level. I do not mean to say that the former system was good, because it was based on ideological criteria and dominated by a single power—I am referring to the Soviet Union. Thus, we are living through times when East Europe, Central Europe, and the former socialist countries are trying to find the means to fill in the gap caused by the collapse of the old structures, and

one cannot object to that. The new means to ensure international security refer first to those countries' attempts to integrate themselves, to make use of the Western structures, in the sense that they want them extended to themselves. Such attempts encounter a certain amount of resistance because we have to rise to a certain level of compatibility, and besides, the West is displaying a certain amount of restraint, too. Another method to ensure security is represented by attempts intended to set up subregional structures, such as the Central European initiative, the "Trilaterale," the Black Sea Zone, and so on, which make it possible for the involved countries to build up sound cooperation structures among themselves and even conclude bilateral accords of good neighborliness, friendship, and so on. I believe that this is a characteristic feature of our times: Transition is also going on at an international level, during which stable confrontation is being replaced by a democratic, albeit unstable period. That instability is clearly demonstrated especially by the breaking up of a number of federal states—I am talking about Russia, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia, with all its implications. Whereas the breaking up of Czechoslovakia has been peaceful until now and that of Russia marked by certain convulsions, in the case of Yugoslavia the process has taken the form of open war.

[AZI] Are there sufficient geographical and political arguments for our country to be reevaluated by the international community?

[Melescanu] Ideological aspects have currently ceased to play an important role in international relations—not because they are considered senseless, but rather because it is thought that in broad terms our continent is ideologically uniform—and thus objective elements have become the main criteria in assessing the various countries' importance. From this point of view, Romania undoubtedly has a special geostrategic position, as it is—as it has always been—a country simultaneously connected to Central Europe, the Balkans, the Black Sea area, and even the Commonwealth of Independent States. Secondly, Romania is one of the most important countries in Central Europe, actually—if we leave Germany aside, which we should, otherwise we would lack modesty—after Poland, our country is the second most important one. Romania is also second—after Turkey—in the Black Sea region. As a result of this, our country lies in the center of many interests, it represents a considerable market, one of the few European countries that still have natural resources—because most other countries have exhausted them—and it is also a has an other asset, namely its people and intelligence of its people. Considering all those points of view, now that ideological aspects and politicking tend to be less important while objective criteria are becoming predominant, I think I can safely say that Romania will occupy a place much closer to the one it actually deserves.

[AZI] According to expert analysts, the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, the military conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the dispute around Macedonia, and the tensioned situation in Kosovo have pushed the Balkans on the verge of an "explosion," which in some way or another will affect us. Does Romania intend to assume a mediation role to defuse those tensions?

[Melescanu] I would like to point out that our country has always played such a role. I believe that all the contacts we had with officials of Serbia, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and even Macedonia, were intended to play a mediation role. Our contacts with other Balkan states have also played a very important role in maintaining a particular atmosphere. I dare say that application of the embargo was a moderating element as well because the only alternative to the embargo is military action. If your question refers to whether we have concretely summoned meetings on those issues, I can tell you that we have and probably will continue to organize certain consultations, provided there are chances that they yield positive results and do not jeopardize any other initiatives that are already in progress. If the idea of organizing such talks proves to be useful and acceptable, then we are ready to carry on with it; we are still working on that idea and it remains to be seen what our concrete possibilities are.

[AZI] One of the consequences of the disintegration of the former Soviet Union is the fact that along the same border we now have three neighbors: the Republic of Moldova, which in the wake of its reunification with Romania—even if that is merely theoretical—is confronted with serious political, economic, and even military problems; Ukraine, which acknowledges that its borders with us have not entirely been established correctly, but which—due to its serious litigation with Moscow—considers, and is probably justified to do so, that territorial adjustments are dangerous and undesirable; and, finally, the Russian Federation, a relatively unstable country that is plagued by separatist tendencies and is, therefore, very suspicious. What are the specific features of Romania's relations with each of those countries?

[Melescanu] We have particular relations with Moldova because in its case we are dealing with the same cultural area, the people of our two countries speak the same language and have a common cultural heritage, as—historically speaking—Moldova was always part of Romania. That is why we consider the things related to our cultural and spiritual affiliation, and especially our economic and political integration as priority issues, as they are parts of a natural process. On the other hand, our government has no plans or objectives to officially interfere with that process, which we consider a natural one. On the contrary, I would even venture to say that any such forceful action would actually have a contrary effect upon the ideal of reunification, the latter being quite normal from a historical perspective. I believe that the process of Romania and Moldova's approach and reunification is a natural process that will advance alongside those countries' integration into the European Community. The association status of our two countries

and their gradual integration into the European Community actually represents a way of coming closer and reuniting—if one uses West Europe as an example. All major problems will be solved by that process itself.

Concerning Ukraine, we are dealing with a novel situation in the sense that Ukraine is a newly established state, with which we have relations inherited from the past—linked to certain past events and the disintegration of the Soviet Union—and there are a number of elements that have not been entirely cleared up. I will give you a very simple example: Insula Serpilor [Snakes Island] used to be a source of dissension, let us say, in our relations with the Soviet Union. Should we discuss that issue with Russia now, or has it been transferred to Ukraine? No one knows. Thus, first of all I would say that we are dealing with an entirely new country with which we have had certain past relations. Looking at it from another angle, there are many elements that would justify establishing very special ties with Ukraine: It is Romania's most significant neighbor from a political, economic, and military point of view. Practically, Ukraine's relations with the CIS [Confederation of Independent States] and the Russian Federation will also exert a significant influence Moldova's fate because Ukraine is the buffer between Moldova and the CIS and Russia. Ukraine is a country having an European vocation, I would say, and its influence upon the stability of the area cannot be ignored. Due to all this, Romania's relations with Ukraine are to be considered a priority and we will have to start at the very beginning, namely with the settlement of the juridical issues that can be settled—postponing everything else until circumstances allow for better solutions—and establishing an appropriate framework for our cooperation in every field.

Concerning the Russian Federation, for the first time we are in a very strange situation, namely not having Russia as a direct neighbor—something that has very seldom happened to us—although I think the fact that we have no common frontiers cannot annul the special interest we grant to those relations. Russia is not only one of the largest markets of the world, but we are also linked by historic and economic ties, and—in spite of what is being said or thought and in spite of all the difficulties it is currently facing—the Russian Federation was, still is, and will always be a very important power and one of the permanent members of the UN Security Council, which makes it mandatory for Romania to fan very good and special relations with it.

[AZI] In spite of its internal difficulties, Germany remains Europe's economic pole. Do you think that it will acquire a similar political importance as well?

[Melescanu] There is no doubt about that. The growth of Germany's economic importance, which is acknowledged by everyone, will almost automatically lead to the enlargement of its political role as well. Romania is well aware of this and that is why we are so interested in developing our relations with Germany. My answer is absolutely positive: Yes, Germany will have a major political role. However, I am unable to specify how Germany will manifest its political role because first of all, Germany is currently one of the basic countries of the Common Market, it is one of the pillars of the EEC, and it is one of the most important partners—after the United States and, perhaps, France and Britain—of the North Atlantic alliance. Germany is also one of the founding countries of the West European Union, so I would say that Germany is involved in a very complex way in European cooperation structures, which makes it difficult for me to anticipate whether its leading political role will be directly manifested, as a country, or rather indirectly, via European bodies, in which Germany is participating, and will undoubtedly make its voice heard.

[AZI] You recently said that the normalization of Romanian-Hungarian relations is possible and desirable. What are the preconditions and is there a price to be paid, if any, in terms of political compromise?

[Melescanu] I do not think that the issue should be approached from the angle of accepting or not accepting a political compromise, but rather from another one, namely that the price of our reconciliation should be paid for by the efforts of both countries to adjust their bilateral relations to European standards. If we start out from concessions, then I think that there will be a great deal of internal dispute in both countries; that is why I believe that our moves should be made by having an eye on European standards, which politically are perfectly acceptable for both of us and, I assume, for Hungary as well. I will even go further than that: The normalization of our relations is a kind of objective to be reached within our efforts to integrate into European structures and at the same time one of the means by which that objective can be achieved.

[AZI] Would you comment on the so-called "Euro-Carpathian zone" recently set up by Hungary, Ukraine, and Poland, although the latter distanced itself subsequently from the mentioned initiative?

[Melescanu] That would be one of the cooperation methods that was stipulated by various international documents, as [regional] cooperation that goes beyond state frontiers is even mentioned by the documents of CSCE and certain specialized conventions of the Council of Europe. As far as we are concerned, in my opinion, the fundamental element in our relations with our neighbors is the strengthening of mutual trust. All other goals should be subordinated to that one. I am not certain that in the current situation such initiatives as the one you mentioned can be interpreted as a contribution to strengthening confidence and security. Without trying to deny in principle the importance of and prospect that such cooperation may be implemented in the future, I still believe that such initiatives should be subordinated to the aim of enhancing confidence. For the time being, I am not sure that the idea of the "Euro-Carpathian zone" can be interpreted in that way by Romanian society, and—legally speaking—the participation in that

"zone" of certain "Carpathian" entities of Romania is impossible. In the case of Romania, there are legal obstacles as well, and we are not prepared to indulge in such experiments.

[AZI] Do you believe in the "spiritualization" of state frontiers?

[Melescanu] I believe that the process of our country and other Central European countries' integration into West European structures will inevitably lead to the "spiritualization" of the frontiers. In what respect? It will lead to a certain uniformity of regulations, legal systems, people's possibilities to invest, having things tested, or finding jobs. All of this will greatly reduce current differences at certain levels. Current frontiers may become cultural, spiritual ones, dividing various groups having different spiritual and cultural national identities, and cease to be economic, political, and military frontiers as they were considered a few years ago.

[AZI] Let us leave our continent for a while and cross the Atlantic Ocean. What does Bucharest expect from the new U.S. Administration?

[Melescanu] We expect the Democrats to remain the kind of very pragmatic people that they have always been, who always judge their partner according to what they do and not by what they say. From that point of view, Romania has the chance of being judged on the basis of its good side and the good things that we have done—the bad side will also be considered, of course—but, I repeat, the important thing is that the Democrats' administration is a pragmatic one. I am sure that their assessment will be much closer to reality than the way we were regarded, perhaps, before. If you want a more concrete answer, let me say that the granting of the most favored nation status would be a good start.

[AZI] Continuing our journey on the other vast continent, what place does China occupy in Romania's whole system of international relations?

[Melescanu] Relations with China, besides relations with certain other countries, are fundamental for Romania.

First, China is one of the permanent members of the UN Security Council. If the United Nations becomes, as it currently seems, an organization that adopts decisions on fundamental issues, then the role of the permanent members, still having the veto right, is extremely important for everyone, including Romania, which is a small or medium-size country—depending on how one looks at it—and which is not in a similar position.

Second, our relations with China no doubt involve major economic interests. I do not merely mean that China is a huge market with which we have developed ties and are already known; what I mean is that owing to certain efforts made by the Chinese—for which they deserve recognition—in the zones they have set up in certain areas, especially along the seashore, they managed to master advanced technologies in several top branches, in which we may be directly interested. Besides, China is one of the countries that supports us financially as well. Concerning our trade balance, they always regard our deficit as a loan granted on terms of a symbolic interest of 2-5 percent. Considering that we almost invariably import more than we export, one can easily see that to us this represents a kind of financial assistance and support. Taking all of this into consideration and leaving the ideological aspect aside—because that has become an irrelevant aspect that does not influence us in any way—I believe that China will continue to be one of our most important and nearest partners.

[AZI] What should be done to make Japan—which displays a relatively high political interest in Romania—become similarly interested in the economic sphere as well?

[Melescanu] I would like to point out the fact that Japanese investors and businessmen are perhaps the most conservative people in the world. The fundamental thing to be achieved to arouse Japanese economic interest is to turn Romania into a stable and economically serious country. The moment Japanese investors can be certain that they can safely invest in Romania and make a sure profit we will probably have to take measures to curb "the invasion."

[AZI] The Arab world has always been a traditional zone of interest for Romania. What is the current status of our relations with the countries in that region?

[Melescanu] The Arab world is also one of our zones of major interest because, geographically speaking, it is very close to us and besides representing a large market, those countries possess resources that are fundamental to us, namely energy resources. Those ties are also important because in a certain way, Romania is an almost unavoidable transit point between Western Europe and the Arab countries. Finally, that area is also important for us because—even if the causes do not exist any more—our relations are based on a certain capital we developed with the Arab countries and we should take advantage of that capital. I will give you a very simple example: I think that the number of Arab students and intellectuals in Arab countries who have graduated Romanian universities exceeds several thousands. To them, Romania is not an unknown, abstract country. They have experienced joy and sorrow here, and I am sure that they feel sentimentally attached to our country.

One of the great openings we achieved after the [1989 December] revolution was in our relations with the Arab countries that used to be strongly marked by ideological aspects. We used to have relations with the "good" Arabs and we had no relations with the ones we considered "bad." We managed to totally rid ourselves of that kind of ideological approach so that we currently have ties with Bahrain, Qatar, Kuwait, and many other emirates, and we have been making serious efforts over the past few years to establish relations with Saudi Arabia as well,

which we hope to accomplish in the near future, considering that there are no real obstacles there, except for certain internal difficulties that are normal in any other country exposed to so much tension as Saudi Arabia. Thus, that is a world toward which we feel—perhaps because of cultural reminiscences from the history of the Turkish empire—quite close and those are people whom we can easily comprehend.

I would like to add an important element here, namely the exceptional interest of the Arab world in us, in the sense that those countries are a major market for Romania's labor force—I am talking about our skilled workers, teachers, and physicians. That area remains in the center of our attention and we hope to resume our cooperation with a number of countries there; we resumed cooperation with Kuwait, and when things return to normal we hope to restore ties with Iraq as well because that is the most important area in which our skilled personnel can find jobs.

[AZI] West Europeans, more exactly NATO Secretary General Woerner, have praised Romania for its "exemplary" conduct in observing the embargo imposed on Yugoslavia. We "benefited" from similar assessments during the Gulf war as well, which also caused us considerable economic losses, as the current crisis does. Did we actually receive any of the promised compensations?

[Melescanu] We did not receive any compensations from anywhere; we have recently been trying to change our course a little, range our fire, so to speak. We have been asking for compensations by quoting Article 50 of the UN Charter all the time. According to that article, states that suffer losses due to the application of sanctions are entitled to receive compensations. However, there is no mechanism for such a thing to be actually implemented, and all our efforts to create such a mechanism or render it operative have failed. This does not mean that we might not succeed in the future. That is why a few months ago we tried to adopt a different strategy, namely not to insist on being given compensations in exchange for being granted certain economic advantages, which—even if they do not entirely cover our losses—could be an important support for us in the current transition period, such as the granting of loans on terms of preferential interests, increasing the assistance granted to us within the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program or by the "Group of 24" states. We have been making such efforts and are currently working on concrete proposals on the basis of that new strategy and we intend to submit them to the EEC and the United States. We maintain the idea of being granted compensations, but we try to suggest other methods as well.

[AZI] Now to our last question. Mr. Melescanu, is it difficult to be foreign affairs minister in the transition period?

[Melescanu] I think it is difficult, but also extremely interesting. I can vouch for that. It might well be one of the most interesting jobs in today's Romania.

[AZI] We thank you and wish you success.

## Chief of Staff Discusses Relations With NATO

*AU0503194393 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 25 Feb pp 1, 6*

[Statement by Romania's Chief of Staff Dumitru Cioflina; place and date not given: "Readjustments in the Military Doctrine and in the Strategy of National Security"]

[Text] I believe that national security can be achieved through individual efforts. The fact that we reached a level when we made the world and the NATO aware of our options for national security is already a positive point. Thus, now it is known about Romania what it can do, what it wants to do, and what it wants to achieve. These three objectives express the entire activity that we must promote from now on. It is certain that relations, whether they are bilateral, many-sided, or with a body that is representative for our times, are very beneficial for us. From this point of view, our actions—I am referring to the military field—are very complete and made clear both to NATO and the NATO members and the year 1993 will be a fundamental year, from the point of view of what has been accomplished so far. I would like to stress what President Iliescu also emphasized in his address to the NATO Council, that Romania currently is readjusting its military doctrine and its national security strategy in accordance with the internal and international realities, on the basis of the following very important principles: the priority of the political action, the defense capacity, and the professionalization of the army. We were tributary only as long as we were Warsaw Pact members, meaning that we did not have a fundamental national security concept and we did not operate according to one. As far as I know, the other former Warsaw Pact member countries had no such concept, either. On the other hand, all of us have military doctrines. Basically, our doctrine was called the military doctrine of national defense. The way we see things, these two concepts are very clearly delimited one from the other; however, at the same time they intermingle very much. One cannot work out a military doctrine if one does not base it on a fundamental concept regarding national security. The fundamental concept regarding national security is much broader than the military doctrine, but at the same time the military doctrine is the military component of the fundamental concept. Thus, President Iliescu's reference to the first principle, namely the priority of the political factor, is very clear. The fundamental concept of the national security is a political option. The statute offered by it through the options of the political formations and state bodies are the basis for working out the principles of the military doctrine for national defense. Therefore, the two concepts should by all means be finalized in close interdependence. So far

the following has been achieved: A version of the military doctrine of national defense was submitted to the country's Supreme Defense Council in September 1991, it was accepted by the council, and presented by the chief of staff at the seminar on military doctrine issues in October 1991. This doctrine was accepted and highly regarded, and after it returned to Romania and after it had been discussed, the Ministry of National Defense prepared a final form of this military defense doctrine that will be submitted again to the Romania's Supreme Defense Council and certainly validated by the Parliament. However, the work to substantiate the concept of national security is much more ample and comprehensive. Therefore, absolutely all political and state structures have to be involved in it because there must be a fundamental concept of national security in the political, diplomatic, economic, cultural, instructional and other areas. One should also include the military component in all these elements.

It is true that the essence of the [Warsaw] Pact, at the time when it was set up, was of a political nature, but it did not exclude the military component. It was maintained through the same options that it had in the beginning. It is normal that the volume of relations on a political plane should increase, however, at the same time let me tell you that also the volume of relations on a military plane has increased by every passing year. NATO asked us to cooperate. In 1992 the first plan of cooperation between the NATO countries and its cooperation partners was set up. The cooperation partners meaning us, those who broke off from the former social system, both the states that were Warsaw Pact members and those that broke away from the former Soviet Union. The way in which the plan for 1992 has been fulfilled was recently examined in Brussels and on the basis of a draft that was handed out to us to study and was analyzed last fall, and then the plan variant for 1993 was agreed upon. It is very important that the addresses of our representatives and the viewpoints they expressed within this program were completely approved and well received. I would like to give you only one example. Out of two seminars that the NATO is going to organize in 1993, one will be organized in Romania and will be entitled "Education and Instruction," certainly also referring to the military institution. The way in which relations are developing are very positive according to an survey that we carried out in 1992. We made clear the position of the Romanian Army as a fundamental institution of our state, and we were correctly understood as far as the democratic changes that take place on a national and military plane are concerned; our complete openness in implementing the international accords agreed upon on the basis of relations that we have with these partners was also acknowledged. From all these one can draw the conclusion that the Romanian phenomena, and implicitly the military one, is much better understood, and its true intentions have become known. APart from our relations with the NATO structure we also have bilateral relations with almost all NATO members. They are based on the bilateral plans, which are expressed by joint activities carried out in our country and in the respective countries. If you wish, I can provide figures, too. I can tell you that only last year we had 500 such activities between us and these NATO members and between us and the NATO body.

An idea was advanced that during the discussions took a concrete shape, namely that NATO is promoting an open policy as far as the association of certain countries to this body is concerned. However, first and foremost the tension that still exists both in the East-West relations and between the former Warsaw Pact member states should be settled. If NATO admitted certain countries in a selective way, there would be a state of tension among those countries that have not been admitted, a state of tension that NATO would have difficulty in controlling under the current circumstances. To prevent tension and find solutions to certain tensions the NATO Cooperation Council was set up. The priorities of this council are to achieve a connection between East European countries and the NATO countries and create relations of cooperation and partnership.

Regarding the principle that President Iliescu mentioned, namely the priority of the political factor both in the structure of the national military doctrine and the national security concept, I would like to say that it is absolutely natural for our case to be like what happened a long time ago in other countries. It is impossible that the military people should set a separate law of their own in a state that is entirely coordinated by the laws of democracy and of market economy, because we would be eliminated from this open European competition if we continued to rely completely only on the military element. The fact that a position of a state secretary in the leadership of the ministry will be taken by an independent political personality at this stage is a very good thing. When the Ministry of Defense is reorganized according to a new reorganization concept—and this most probably will be finalized around July or August this year—we will have a different way to approach the overall phenomenon, and we are convinced that cooperation with the political factor in complete openness and in complete understanding will but improve the image of our army in relations with the NATO and with its partners and on an internal plane, the army-Parliament and army-society relationship.

## PNTCD Opposes Cabinet Reshuffle

*AU0803191693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1643 GMT 8 Mar 93*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 8/3/1993—"The strategy for an economic-social reform of the governing programme is a decent list of wishes, but the means to achieve them are not specified," Corneliu Coposu, chairman of the Christian Democratic National Peasant Party, PNTCD, told a Monday, March 8, press conference. He added that there was no correlation between the electoral programme of the Democratic National Salvation Front, FDSN, and the said strategy.

He also reproached the government with not having prepared the population for the austerity imposed by a transition to the market economy. Mr. Coposu opined that the populist slogans of the FDSN election campaign were a serious mistake.

On the same line of thought, the PNTCD leader announced that parliamentary groups of the opposition would meet Monday afternoon to decide on the position to be adopted the next day in Parliament.

Mr. Coposu mentioned that it was not the time for a government reshuffling. Such a solution might be proper in May, when the state no longer grants subsidies. Mr. Coposu reiterated that his party was willing to enter a coalition government, but not as a decorative element, but on the basis of a clear programme.

## PNTCD Leader Coposu Discusses Political Issues

*AU0903111493 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 5 Mar 93 p 3*

[Interview with Corneliu Coposu, president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party, by Roxana Iordache; place and date not given: "All of Us Are Facing the Same Difficulties"]

[Text] [Iordache] Mr. Coposu, what are the most important decisions of the Christian-Democratic International?

[Coposu] Its congress took place under the motto "The end of the millennium will be a Christian-democratic one." This congress discussed world economic problems and decided on measures to assist countries that have reached a deadlock. It also discussed a draft world constitution to substantiate a genuine social institution in the world. It advocated the establishment of a democratically elected world parliament assembly of peoples. The constitution—which will be sent to all governments for endorsement—stipulates the principles of human rights and fundamental liberties, free circulation of ideas and information, the eradication of the sources of war, which are spread all over the globe, and the need for symbolic borders.

[Iordache] What do symbolic borders actually mean?

[Coposu] The elimination of customs barriers, which will permit free traffic of commodities from producer to consumer countries, and the free circulation of ideas; such borders may also eliminate possible tension existing between certain frozen borders. With the introduction of symbolic borders, all interethnic conflicts would be lessened and countries would rid themselves of poverty.

[Iordache] Would this not affect the integrity of nations?

[Coposu] No. Nations will continue their own culture, traditions, and language; this means development without moral pressure within a united Europe. Certainly, the unity of Europe will be achieved gradually and in stages. However, the final objective should be the establishment of an atmosphere of peace and quiet and the elimination of the possibility of confrontation within and among countries. The Christian-democratic principles pursue this line.

[Iordache] What subject did the paper you presented at the congress discuss?

[Coposu] It discussed the integration of countries with an (ex)communist economic in the market economy and the effects of such an integration. It also dealt with the Bessarabian problem, and I demanded a resolution that would condemn the presence of the 14th Army and request that persecution be stopped, that the Romanian political detainees in Tiraspol be released, and that the independence toward CIS [Confederation of Independent States] be affirmed. This idea earned acclaim, and steps will be taken in this direction. As a matter of fact, I was pleased to note that the representative of Georgia also referred to the abuse committed by Russia to become the policeman of the countries that belonged to the former USSR. I also supported the admittance as observer of the Christian Democratic Popular Front of Moldova to the Christian Democratic International; this will be discussed at the working congress scheduled to be held 14-25 June in Vienna.

[Iordache] Have you heard about the statement made by Bishop Laszlo Tokes?

[Coposu] Sometimes Mr. Tokes, who proved his love for freedom during the Timisoara revolution, is driven by elan: He probably did not check his words, as we say in Transylvania, and hence made such "slips!" This does not lessen his merit. In Romania one cannot talk of special persecution against minorities. All of us are facing the same difficulties. The National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD] thinks that minorities should be granted all their legitimate rights—they should be able to cultivate their language, traditions, and develop their own culture, without restrictions that could be interpreted as hampering minorities' freedoms. As far as the Tirgu Mures "pogrom" is concerned, this is surely an exaggeration. However, Mr. Tokes is right to say that it was an artificial and diversionist instigation whose pernicious consequences Mr. Iliescu hesitated to avoid when he refused to go to Tirgu Mures as he was asked to do by myself and Mr. Sergiu Cunescu [Social Democratic Party]. In any case, one cannot talk of an anti-Hungarian pogrom nor of moral pressure that would determine Hungarians to leave Transylvania! True, after 1989 an important number of Romania's population left the country in despair, but there were also numerous Romanians who left. I think that Mr. Tokes, who is a man of God, is convinced that all revisionist instigations are sterile. I have heard him say so many times that the Hungarian minority recognizes Romania's current borders, that he does not want any territorial change, and that all his efforts aim at ensuring rights for the minority to which he belongs as honest citizens of the Romanian state. Therefore, if these rights are not refused to him, I am sure that Mr. Tokes would arrive at the conclusion that this is his homeland where he was born, that here he must live and always struggle—as we do—for national reconciliation and to avoid any kind of attitude that would only benefit extremists.

### WHO Says Srebrenica Threatened by Typhoid

*LD0903154493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1521 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Geneva, March 9 (TANJUG)—The east Bosnia town of Srebrenica is threatened by typhoid, World Health Organization (WHO) spokesman Michael Barton said in Geneva on Tuesday [9 March].

Barton said that 11 tonnes of medicines should urgently be parachuted into the city to prevent an epidemic and enable the treatment of pneumonia.

Estimates are that between 20-30 people die each day of pneumonia and starvation in Srebrenica, 196 wounded are in a critical condition, 305 are serious and 800 minor cases, Barton said but did not give the sources of the prognosis. He underscored however, that all cases should be evacuated.

Ron Redmond, the spokesman of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), said that U.S. Operation Parachute, which involves dropping relief aid into eastern Bosnia, is being carried out successfully.

According to him, 232 tonnes of food and 19 tonnes of medicines have been parachuted into the region since the start of the action on March 1. Most of the crates have been collected.

Redmond warned that eight UNHCR trucks, sent to evacuate 75 wounded in Konjevic Polje, are stranded due to fighting between the Serb and Moslem forces. This is also preventing the enforcement of an evacuation agreement reached on Saturday by U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) Commander for Bosnia, French General Philippe Morillon, and UNHCR representatives, on one side, and the Bosnia Serbs, on the other, he said.

Gen. Morillon, who toured the eastern Bosnia towns of Zvornik, Cerska and Konjevic Polje where the local Moslems launched an offensive in early January, said on Saturday that the Srebrenica commander promised to halt all offensive actions against the Serbs. However, the Moslems renewed their attacks on Monday.

### Calls for Medical Airdrop

*AU0903124093 Paris AFP in English 1207 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Geneva, March 9 (AFP)—The World Health Organization on Tuesday [9 March] called on the United States to airdrop 11 tonnes of emergency medical supplies over the besieged Moslem enclave of Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia where it said 96 critically injured people will die unless evacuated.

It was unclear whether the airdrop operation would begin Tuesday.

Michel Barton, a WHO spokesman, said Simon Mardell, a WHO doctor stationed in Srebrenica, had reported that in addition to the critically injured, 305 people suffer from serious bullet wounds and 800 have less serious injuries.

Barton said evacuating the casualties has been impossible since the only road open is not accessible to buses.

The city, which suffered intense shelling by Serb forces, is swollen with about 4,000 refugees that fled the neighboring enclave of Cerska after it fell to the Serbs last week. Mardell has reported that the sanitary situation in Srebrenica is worrisome with malnutrition and pneumonia claiming 20 to 30 victims each day. An outbreak of typhoid is also feared.

### 'No Movement' Zone Declared in Sarajevo

*LD0903234793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Minister Pusina has issued another order on carrying out tasks and operations under the competence of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and and on protection from terrorism and other forms of violence in wartime and at a time of immediate war threats. The order reads as follows:

All accesses to the city of Sarajevo are to be closed to prevent all individuals except members of the Ministry for Internal Affairs who directly carry out their tasks and operations from moving around, leaving, and entering the city between 2200 and 0500. Organized formations of the army of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina are exempt from this order while carrying out their combat tasks, and firemen and medical teams while carrying out their direct interventions, with the proviso of notifying in advance the competent police station. All individuals found in the zone of no movement must be subjected to measures in line with the law and, if need be, to forcible methods, including even the use of firearms.

It is the responsibility of Sarajevo's officers and policemen to carry out this order. I authorize the head of the security services center and public security stations in the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina to issue adequate orders following their security surveys. The orders are to be carried out effective immediately.

### Ministry Bans Carrying Firearms in Sarajevo

*LD0903230793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] In order to be able to completely and safely discharge the duties and matters falling within the competence of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina on the territory of Sarajevo and in connection with an order by the Commander of the First Corps dated 20 February this year, Internal Affairs Minister Jusuf Pusina has issued the following order:

Carrying firearms on the territory of Sarajevo is hereby banned for all members of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, apart from members of the police, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army when carrying arms and ammunition in accordance with the regulations of their service. Members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army who are moving in formation under the command of their officer are also exempt from the order.

Officers and policemen from the area of Sarajevo are responsible for implementation of the order. Commanders of brigades of the First Corps are responsible for implementation of the order.

Measures will be taken against offenders in accordance with the regulations on the discharge of duties by the public security service and the law on the acquisition, possession, and carrying of weapons and ammunition .

The order is effective immediately, concludes the order signed by Minister of Internal Affairs Jusuf Pusina.

### Fighting Blocks UN Convoy to Konjevic Polje

*AU0903125493 Paris AFP in English 1204 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Excerpt] Geneva, March 9 (AFP)—Fighting between Bosnian Serbs and Moslems was blocking a U.N. convoy from crossing the Serbian border to evacuate the wounded in an eastern Bosnian Moslem enclave on Tuesday [9 March], a U.N. relief spokesman said here.

Ron Redmond of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, which chartered the convoy bound for the besieged town of Konjevic Polje, dodged questions over whether Bosnian Serbs had again lied in promising the convoy safe passage.

"It's too early to say," Redmond said.

"A lot of fighting is going on. It could be extremely dangerous going there," he said. [passage omitted]

### Convoy To Evacuate Wounded

*LD0903143993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1310 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Mar (TANJUG)—An Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] convoy that set off for Gorazde this morning with 77 tonnes of food crossed into the territory of the Serb republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and has continued its trip unhindered, Lyndall Sachs, a spokeswoman for the UNHCR's Belgrade office, has said.

She added that tomorrow the UNHCR will send food to Tuzla.

Another UNHCR convoy, which left Belgrade for Konjevic Polje this morning, is at the bridge in Mali Zvornik awaiting permission from the Serb Republic authorities to evacuate about 70 [word indistinct] from Konjevic Polje.

The UNHCR spokeswoman said that "these were the wounded [words indistinct] and will be taken to Tuzla".

### Remains Stuck on Border

*AU1003140793 Paris AFP in English 1352 GMT 10 Mar 93*

[Excerpts] Zvornik, Bosnia-Hercegovina, March 10 (AFP)—A U.N. ambulance convoy stuck at the Serbian border might be allowed into eastern Bosnia Wednesday [10 March] on its mission to evacuate wounded Moslems from a Serb-besieged zone, a U.N. relief official said.

Larry Hollingworth, the Sarajevo representatitve for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), said his office was given assurances along these lines at negotiations with Bosnian Serbs in the Serb stronghold of Pale, near Sarajevo, on Tuesday.

He said he was confident the convoy would get through Wednesday.

But a local Bosnian Serb commander in this border town on the Drina River said fighting in eastern Bosnia could block the convoy on its way to the Moslem town of Konjevic Polje, where it hopes to evacuate some 75 seriously wounded. [passage omitted]

The ambulance convoy, which has eight vehicles and an escort of two British armored vehicles, was stopped Tuesday at the Serbian border town of Mali Zvornik, across the river from here. A Bosnian Serb officer told U.N. officials then it could not continue because of fighting in the zone. [passage omitted]

In Sarajevo, UNHCR official Tony Land said Wednesday that even if the convoy got thorugh, Serbs said they would block the evacuation of any wounded fighters—in a war zone where "a definition of soldiers could apply to all men between 18 and 60 years old."

He said most of the 75 wounded were between these ages, which make Bosnian men liable for conscription.

Land said there was no hospital in Konjevic Polje and that the wounded had been "accommodated in private homes with extremely marginal medical treatment at best."

Doctors in the convoy could administer first aid but could not perform operations on the spot, Land said.

He said the UNHCR wanted to evacuate the wounded to the Moslem-controlled town of Tuzla, 60 kilometers (about 40 miles) away but conceded the "trip is going to be very difficult" in the freezing cold on war-damaged roads. [passage omitted]

### Serb Leaders Meet Morillon on Cease-Fire

*AU0803213493 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 8 Mar 93*

[Text] Philippe Morillon, commander of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] for the former Bosnia-Hercegovina, today held talks in Pale with Dr. Vladimir Lukic, prime minister of the Serbian republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina; Major General Milan Gvero; and Dusan Kovacevic, defense minister of the Serbian republic, about the chance of stopping all combat in the territory of the former Bosnia-Hercegovina, allowing free transit of people from the towns, exchanging prisoners, and evacuating civilians from Konjevic Polje and Srebrenica. I demanded the establishment of a cease-fire in eastern Bosnia also, especially around Konjevic Polje and Srebrenica, but I was informed that the Muslim side is preparing a major offensive there, Morillon said. He added that, if such an order is issued this would mean continuation of combat by the so-called Bosnia-Hercegovina Army. According to him, this directly threatens the peace efforts. At the proposal of the Serbian side, the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] commander said he would do everything possible to open humanitarian corridors to allow the exit of Sarajevo residents who wish to leave.

### Serbs: Air Delivery 'Arouses Suspicion'

*LD0903164693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1438 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 9 Mar (TANJUG)—The air force and air defence command of the Bosnian Serb Republic army today announced that the continued delivery of humanitarian aid by air arouses suspicion because of the possibility that "cargo is replaced at other airports, or that aircraft whose cargo was not inspected take part in the mission." [passage omitted]

Because of all this, as a statement says, the air force command of the Serb republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina army sees "the parachute operation as only a part of overall military preparations for foreign combat activities in this region, for which only an immediate cause is awaited."

### Serbs Take Several Villages in East; U.S. Aid Found

*LD0903171793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] After the fall of Udrs hill, the last stronghold of the Cerska defenders, the Serb aggressor has continued pounding Konjevic Polje. Last night the chetniks took several villages in which they murdered people and set houses on fire.

This morning 25 pallets containing humanitarian aid dropped by American aircraft last night were found in the Konjevic Polje area. Several pallets fell on the Srebrenica area as well, Bosnia-Hercegovina radio reports, quoting radio hams.

### Tuzla Citizens Denounce Morillon

*LD0903174893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Report by VERCERNJI LIST correspondent Ekrem Abdic from Tuzla]

[Text] The drama of the population of Cerska, Srebrenica, and Konjevic Polje is continuing: 2,000 civilians injured by chetnik grenades, diseased, starved, and freezing still are waiting to be evacuated to Tuzla. Between 20 and 30 people have been dying daily. On the other hand, defenders of that part of eastern Bosnia have been investing superhuman efforts to repulse a heavy offensive by the Serb Fascist forces from the Valjevo, Uzice [both in Serbia], and Romanija corps. Defenders have been helped out by forces of the Second Corps [of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army], but difficult weather conditions, the inaccessibility of the terrain, and the distance from free tarritory have been thwarting their efforts, it was stated among other things at a news conference given today by the Second Corps of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Armed Forces in Tuzla.

Political parties in Tuzla, the Forum of Citizens, and the Association of the Bosnian Muslim Intellectuals today issued a statement in connection with the situation in eastern Bosnia and the role of General Morillon, the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] commander, saying:

We hereby demand that Dubrave airport [near Tuzla] be urgently reopened so that the humanitarian action can continue and the evacuation of the wounded from the area of Cerska, Kamenica, Konjevic Polje, and Srebrenica can be carried out; the reopening of this airport has been demanded for a long time. Gen. Morillon's behavior caused indignation among citizens of Tuzla and the whole of northeastern Bosnia because the top-ranking French officer openly showed that he was on the aggressor's side. Owing to his biased attitude, incorrectness, even hypocrisy, Tuzla is calling on the state leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina to proclaim this gentleman persona non grata on the territory of our country.

### BORBA Says Serbs Starving To Death in Tuzla

*LD0903131993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1247 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Belgrade, March 9 (TANJUG)—An appeal has been sent to the Serb Orthodox Church (SPC) to immediately deliver food to starving Serbs in the Moslem-controlled Bosnian city of Tuzla, the Belgrade daily BORBA said on Tuesday [9 March].

"The Serbs here are Hungry, the elderly are starving to death" a Serb woman from Tuzla wrote her brother in

the Serb city of Valjevo, BORBA said. The woman asked her brother to show her letter to an SPC official, who sent it to the SPC Synod.

Describing the dire circumstances of Serbs in Tuzla, the woman said she every day saw hungry Serbs rallying in the churchyard of the nearby Orthodox church.

"They no longer resemble humans, they don't look like women, like children. They are skeletons, slaves, haggard, with silent begging eyes. I cannot watch it any longer. Believe me, even we who had something to share, now have nothing to give them", the woman wrote.

The woman said that the Moslems in Tuzla were receiving a lot of aid through humanitarian organizations like Merhamet, the Red Crescent and the Croats were amply helped by Caritas. Dobrotvor, the Serb charity working in cooperation with the church, does not get any help from anyone, she said.

Bosnian Serb civilian and military authorities told UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] Commander in Bosnia-Hercegovina Philippe Morillon before his departure for Cerska last Friday that "Tuzla is a mass camp for around 18,000 Serbs" and asked him to help evacuate them.

### Muslims Said To Continue Eastern Offensive

*LD0903172693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1646 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Belgrade, March 9 (TANJUG)—Muslim forces on Tuesday [9 March] continued an offensive on Bosnian Serb positions in eastern parts of the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

They launched a strong artillery and infantry attack on Serb positions early on Tuesday morning, TANJUG's correspondent in Zvornik quoted sources in the Bosnian Serb Army as saying.

The Muslim attacks again came from the direction of Kalesija, Tuzla, Zivinice and Kladanj.

The offensive was ordered by Muslim Commander Sefer Halilovic and the Muslim-controlled Sarajevo radio reported about it on Monday.

Commander of a Bosnian Serb brigade in the area, Colonel Svetozar Andric, said that all Muslim attacks had been repulsed and that there were no casulties on the Serb side.

'If the Muslim side does not stop the attacks, Serb units will be forced to make a strong counterattack,' said Colonel Andric.

The Bosnian Serb Army on Tuesday succeeded to recapture a part of the territory seized on the previous day by Muslim forces around the town of Skelani.

Serb fighters also succeeded in defending the strategically important village of Jezero about ten kilometres northwest of Skelani, TANJUG's correspondent learned from local Bosnian Serb Army sources.

Jezero is the most important strategic position in the area, which enables control of a large section of the River Drina both on the side of Bosnia-Hercegovina and neighbouring Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Three Serb fighters were killed and five wounded in the clashes around Skelani.

Fighting also continued on most other battlefronts in Bosnia-Hercegovina on Tuesday, reported TANJUG's correspondents.

Early on Tuesday morning, Muslim forces continued attacks on Serb positions west of Brcko in the north of Bosnia-Hercegovina, said the Bosnian Serb Army command in Bijeljina.

Muslims launched a strong infantry attack but Serb fighters are firmly holding their positions, it said.

In the area around Doboj, northern Bosnia-Hercegovina, Muslim forces have intensified their attacks on Serb positions, said the Bosnian Serb Army.

There were no major conflicts on the Sarajevo battlefront on Tuesday morning. Mortar fire was opened occasionally along the contact line between Muslim and Serb forces in the suburbs of Nedzarici and Stup.

Muslim units also occasionally fired from grenade launchers and small arms on the suburb of Dobrinja and the situation was similar in the suburbs of Ilidza and Hadzici, correspondent at Pale quoted sources in the Bosnian Serb Army as saying.

Regular troops of the Republic of Croatia on Monday evening continued offensive in the area around Trebinje in Bosnia-Hercegovina's southernmost region of Hercegovina, said the Bosnian Serb Army in Bileca.

The Serb side was forced to respond to these attacks, in which Croat troops used mortars, artillery and tanks, said the Bileca command.

Clashes in the areas of Mostar and Nevesinje continued into the night, said the sources.

### TANJUG Says Muslim Bratunac 'Offensive' Stopped

*LD0903225093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2227 GMT 9 Mar 93*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Bratunac, March 9 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb Army on Tuesday [9 March] afternoon checked a massive Muslim offensive on the Serb municipality of Bratunac in eastern Bosnia.

Early on Tuesday morning, Muslim troops had launched a tank and artillery attack on Bratunac from the direciton of Konjevic Polje, Kravice and Glogova.

The worst battles were fought for the strategic Caus Hill six kilometres west of Bratunac.

A local Serb [word indistinct] Lieutenant-Colonel Slavko Ognienovic, told TANJUG that the attack had been repulsed and that was under Serb control. [sentence as received]

Muslim troops were also pushed back at the village of Obadi some ten kilometres south of Bratunac from which they had frequently shelled this Serb municipality.

Meanwhile, fierce fighting was reported in Hercegovina where troops from Croatia are continuing their attacks on the Serb municipality of Trebinje in eastern Hercegovina.

The local Serb command said the Croat fire was directed mostly at the Serb villages of Poljice and Dobromani.

Bosnian Croats and Muslims deployed at the Jasenice heliodrome near Mostar on Tuesday launched a major artillery attack on Serb positions in the foothills of Mt. Velez, the command said.

### Sarajevo Radio Updates Fighting

*AU0903212293*

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1800 GMT on 9 March reports continued fierce fighting in east Bosnia and around Brcko and Gradacac:

Tuzla correspondent Salih Brkic reports that "the chetniks are trying to take over the Vlasenica-Zvornik road." According to him, they are using multiple rocket launchers, mortars, and antiaircraft guns. "The defenders of Drina" are holding their positions "with superhuman efforts," Brkic reports. He stresses that "the chetniks" are still holding up a humanitarian convoy that was meant to take wounded from Konjevic Polje to Tuzla. As he reports, "there are more than 1,500 wounded, of which 700 are seriously wounded and have been placed on stretchers." Brkic further reports that Bosnian fighters "have destroyed four tanks and liquidated more than 50 chetniks near Celic and Kalesija." Brkic further reports that "the enormous losses" forced the enemy to mobilize "another 1,500" of paramilitary leader Zeljko Raznjatovic Arkan's "soldiers" in Serbia. "It was also observed that several heavy Russian-manufactured tanks with a Russian crew crossed into Bosnia in the area of Raca—over the bridge, but three kilometers further," Brkic says. Toward the end of his dispatch, Brkic reports that Tuzla authorities demanded that Dubrave airport be opened "to accelerate the delivery of humanitarian aid and the evacuation of wounded from Drina," proposing that "this be put as condition for the continuation of talks in New York."

Brkic also reports that General Morillon, the commander of the UN Protection Force for Bosnia-Hercegovina "is considered a persona non grata on the territory of our motherland."

A report from Srebrenica states that "the aggressor is trying to move the lines of defense" and at 0430 GMT this morning embarked upon "a combined infantry-artillery attack in (?Kragljivode) and (?Tokoljaci)." According to the report, artillery support for the infantry was coming from the Bajna Basta hydropower plant in Serbia. The report further claims that "the aggressor" in Grabovica, Serbia, "held the region of Pirici under fierce artillery fire throughout the day." Then it is said that "the aggressor at 1000 started a fierce infantry attack" at the [word indistinct]-(?Caus)-Obadi-Likari defense line. Supposedly, the infantry was receiving artillery support from Njemici in Serbia. As reported, "the ferocious battles were continuing at the time of reporting, while the lines of defense are still unchanged."

A report by the press service of the Zvornik armed forces says that "the aggressor in Malesici" shelled several villages "on the free territory" with 120-mm mortars today. As it is reported, more than 100 missiles landed there, which only "succeeded in inflicting great material damage."

Brcko correspondent Hamiz Deronjic reports that "the aggressor at 1412 embarked upon an artillery-tank attack aimed at the free Brcko territories, which are crammed with refugees and domestic population." As he says, the attack "lasted nearly an hour," but apart from considerable material damage, only one person sustained minor injuries.

A report by the Teocak press center reports the "shelling of defense lines that lasted the entire day." "Chetnik grenades fell on the settled areas of this territory until 1600" this afternoon. It is reported that one person was killed in today's shelling, as well as that the "members of Hajrudin Mesic Brigade responded to the fierce chetnik attacks with accurate artillery fire."

A report by press center of the Gradacac war presidency says that interrupted "mortar fire from (?Ledenica) that was aimed at Begov Konak and the industrial zone lasted almost the entire day." He says that infantry battles were fought "in the direction of (?Silovac)." The report also mentions constant sniper activities, and adds that "the aggressor's vehicles and armored personnel carriers were moving throughout the day." It is reported that a convoy of vehicles was advancing from (?Zdrebane) toward Borovo Polje. The report says that "the enemy's activities intensify" in the evening, especially in the northern part of the front, whereas defense lines remain unchanged.

Correspondent Salih Hadzijalic reports that shelling of "Visoko and its surroundings" started around 0930 GMT today. He reports that "the chetniks" fired some 10 missiles at the town area. "Chetnik artillery became active again at 1300," he says, but according to the

information available, nobody perished in the shelling. Hadzijalic also reports "the enemy's constant infantry provocations along the lines of defense to which our fighters responded." "Defense lines of Visoko continue to be firm and stable," he concludes.

### Sarajevo Institute Estimates 200,000 Dead in War

*LD0903201193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] In Sarajevo an institute for researching crimes against humanity and international law today began working officially. On the occasion the director of this institute, Dr. Smailcengic, told reporters of some data on the crimes committed in the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina. These reports have been compiled by state bodies and institutions of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

At this time 200,000 civilians, mostly Muslims, are believed to have been killed in this war. Children account for 20 percent of this figure. In Bosnia-Hercegovina 170,030 persons, including as many as 34,000 children, have been wounded so far while 1.8 million have been forced to flee their homes and another 260,000 civilians have been interned in 200 concentration camps. Chetniks have perpetrated the systematic rape of over 60,000 women and young girls. The aggressors have ruined over 700 mosques, over 100 Catholic churches, chapels, and monasteries while in the course of their devastating conquest in Bosnia-Hercegovina they have destroyed its infrastructure and communications. This damage is estimated at $9 million, Cengic said.

### France's Joxe Concludes Sarajevo Visit

*LD0903193793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1910 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Belgrade, March 9 (TANJUG)—French Defense Minister Pierre Joxe on Tuesday [9 March] left Sarajevo for the Croatian Adriatic port of Split, from where he will continue for France, the French news agency AFP said.

During a one-day stay in Sarajevo, Joxe visited the French soldiers within the U.N. peacekeepers and met with U.N. Protection Force Commander for Bosnia-Hercegovina, French General Philippe Morillon.

Joxe did not want to discuss the visit with the journalists.

### Trebinje Residents on Expulsion of Muslims

*93BA0647B Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 12 Feb 93 pp 20-21*

[Article by Lidija Soldo: "Trebinje-Rozaje: The Neighbors Have Left..."]

[Text] "Do you have a house?" a middle-aged woman asked. "But I am not a Muslim," comes the answer from a little old man wearing a black beret. This conversation was recorded at the Trebinje bus station. Today, the city is the target of mortars being fired from positions of the Croatian Army on nearby hills. Dubrovnik and the Cilipi Airport are again the target of the Serbian Army. The apparent calm in the streets is only a part of the balance of fear between the belligerents in this Hercegovina karst.

Trebinje is reached by a regular passenger line from Niksic. The border and customhouses as you leave Montenegro mean that you are crossing onto the territory of the Serbian Republic [RS]. Bozidar Vucurevic, Hercegovinian poet and politician, laments: "...now there are barriers, now there are borders/It is hard now to cross over/One thing is happening, and another written/ We were brothers, but not anymore."

No one has written a poem about the departure of the Muslims from Trebinje. There are not many old settlers in Trebinje anyway. Their houses now have new tenants. The signs on the doors of the courtyard are simply handwritten scraps of paper put up with Scotch tape. The rug thrown over the balcony railing and the minaret of the burned mosque are reminders that Muslims lived here.

#### There Is No Logic

"The old city was always the pride of our town, and you can see the mosque for yourself. After 16 months of taking part in the war and getting wounded twice, I know that I never fought for Trebinje to be like this, but I will go on fighting," says Seno Unkovic, a Muslim from Trebinje, a young man who has been at the front from the first day.

"I am not afraid here. Only the Serbian Army can kill me, and I am also a Serbian soldier." Seno also got a telephone call. The usual scenario, repeated in the statements of those who left Trebinje. Threats, broken glass on the house. "The story goes around town that so-and-so was beaten, and this other one was beaten. How accurate that is, how many people were actually beaten, who set fire to the mosque—that is up to this government to answer. Nevertheless, it is not logical to suppose that 10 people could have frightened 2,000 and driven them to leave. Nor is it logical for 2,500 people, including 500 military registrants, to be allowed to leave. But here the Muslims were allowed to go, including those able to fight. There is no logic here."

His neighbor Zoran comes every night to Seno's house to sleep. His buddies organized a guard in front of the house.

He does not want to say his name. I would leave, but there is nowhere to go. "Unfortunately, I am expecting my third child. There is no longer any place for me in Bosnia or in Croatia. I have spent seven months in the Serbian Army. One night they came and took my weapon. The reason: I had committed a violation by taking it home with me. That was sufficient indication that they no longer needed me." In school, his son is the only Muslim in his class.

We met Eduhad Hadzihasanovic on the street. He was supposed to go back to the front tomorrow: "My neighbors went away, went away.... There was looting, houses were broken into. They came and told me to go, too, and I was going the next day, and then the day after that... and so I have stayed."

**Message From Dubrovnik**

The open-air market under the old Trebinje sycamore trees is almost empty. There is no room on the tree trunks for any more death notices. About 150 young men have died in this town since the war began, 10 of them in tavern shootouts. There are quite a few Muslims among the dead. Many were decorated for bravery. Negos' monument has been protected with ammunition crates. Most of the stores are closed.

Mihailo Vujovic, captain in the Trebinje Brigade of the Hercegovina Corps, says that the exodus was "synchronized with the Geneva Conference so that Izetbegovic would have trump cards when he did not accept the Vance-Owen plan. The second reason behind their departure is to weaken the front here, because quite a few Muslims have been in the fight. Between 350 and 400 Muslims have left the unit, so that we would not have strength enough to make a strike against Croatia when it reinforced its forces against Krajina. The next thing is to create the impression through the media that the Muslims are being persecuted like the Palestinians."

Captain Vujovic says that the political background is clear, but the truth is that groups of uninformed people have emerged, and it is they who have been going to doors and exerting pressure. However, "no one knows who those groups are, and we suspect that those groups were organized even by their side, because they were not members of this brigade nor members of units of the Hercegovina Corps. Supposedly, no one knows these groups, and none of the Muslims who fled was willing to describe them." According to him, there is no dispute that there have been pressures from people who fled from the Neretva Valley and who were left without their land and houses, but he adds: "Many Serbs from Bosnia-Hercegovina were overjoyed when their relatives were allowed to leave Sarajevo, Mostar, just to get out alive. It is sad that the parent countries, Serbia and Montenegro, organized laments for the Muslims who left, but the Ustashi both in Sarajevo and in Mostar have simply been annihilating the Muslims in cruel fashion. To the degree that the Serbs were guaranteed security, so were the Muslims. Those who have stayed know that. No one was killed, beaten, there have been no threats of violence. They are victims. A promise was made to them that they would go to Sweden, and they set out in large numbers. Most of them represent an experiment in politics that is disastrous for this people."

We were shown the "Charter of Friendship and Devotion to the City of Dubrovnik" in places of authority as evidence of the large-scale organized exodus of Muslims from Trebinje. This is a passage in the charter: "...we did all we could, and at the price of our jobs and homes, we refuse to fire on our own youth and our own love. Hoping that one day you will again receive us in your warm heart in the stony country, we beg you to forgive us, because they do not know what they are doing." The charter, so we were told here, was addressed to Trebinje Muslims by the MBO [Muslim Bosnian Organization] of Trebinje. In this city, one gets the impression that no one knows why he is doing anything. Neither those who have remained, nor those who have left.

**Guardian of the House**

Milos Misita, a 60-year-old man, fled from Hrastovici to Trebinje. He was left with nothing, and all he could do was to move into someone else's house. He says: "I will take care of the house for the owner, because I also intend to go back to my own house. We cried, both I and they, when they left. After all, I know the situation she is in (he is referring to the Muslim woman in whose house he has remained). Nevertheless, she found a man who will take care of her house. We have all been afraid of the shooting in recent months. Perhaps their fear was a bit greater...."

Few people from Trebinje, they say here, did not cry when the Muslims, their neighbors for centuries, went away. But: "Where are they fleeing, they are fleeing from Serbs, but still they are going to the Serbs." That is something one often hears.

Dobroslav Grujicic, chief of the Public Security Station, is bitter about newspaper articles. Falsehoods and lies! It is nevertheless true, he says, that "the security situation has deteriorated on the territory of Trebinje Opstina since 25 January, which is mainly because of the attack on the person and property of Muslims and because weapons have been misused."

**The Other Side of the Coin**

"But," Grujicic says, "this station has offered security to all regardless of nationality. However, when they set out this time, we were unable to prevent them. They asked us to guarantee them full security. I told them, and I was very sincere, that we cannot guarantee full security to the Serbian, nor Croatian, nor Muslim population, because this is an area with an immediate danger of war. When they set out, I think that this was in response to an appeal by Alija Izetbegovic; we have intervened in response to all the appeals, and on two occasions we arrested groups that upset the Muslims, and we found that they included persons of Muslim nationality."

Chief Grujicic is convinced that the large-scale exodus of Muslims resulted from stories that the border to Montenegro would be closed. "They told us at the time that they wanted only to go because they did not want to live in a ghetto. Why do they not stand up and tell the truth?"

Radenko Parezanin, commander in this police station, believes that "this kind of departure of the Muslims is unfair to the Serbian people who have remained here."

He told us how Bahrudin Efendic, president of the Democratic Action Party [SDA] for Trebinje, "lived normally and moved about Trebinje until five days ago," he had all rights and was receiving help. "I was surprised that they would go away in such a euphoric state, and they did not realize that they had everything here. Ask if there was any difference. The Muslim was receiving three bags of flour and the Serb one. I hope they are proud of what they did, but in the end there is no coming back to Trebinje for them."

Mattresses are spread out on the floor of the Podvori Mosque. They spent the night here and then continued on their way toward Ulcinj. Their stories are moving. An old woman of 60 told us that some people from outside had come and moved into their dwellings even before they left.

"We were loyal to the Serbian authorities to the end, and they used us like rags. When they no longer needed us, they let us go. But thanks to them for letting us go; they did not mistreat us and they did not beat us. I miss my neighbors in Trebinje. Today, I do not know where to go. My children were fighting, my brother was also fighting, and I thought, 'The way it has turned out, we have to leave.' Stories like this are heard most frequently among the displaced persons. They do not conceal the fact that the official authorities called upon them to remain, but they also say that the authorities could not 'guarantee security.'"

Bozidar Vucurevic, the leading official in Trebinje Opstina, said that on two occasions he received Muslims and he and his associates tried to convince them to stay and argued that they would guarantee them full security as to property and legal security:

"They mainly wanted to go. We behaved in a civilized way and above all tried to stop them. And when someone was insistent on going, we asked that he make out an affidavit so that there would be a written record that he was not driven out of Trebinje, but had decided on his own. Whoever wanted a passport, we gave him a passport, said we were sorry he was going, and that he could come back anytime he wished."

But, Vucurevic says, "it has turned out that there was also another side to the coin. That is that the Croats, SDA, and MBO were putting pressure on the Muslim people to move out, and that began on the day the attack was made against the Serbian krajinas." He showed us a document with the stamp of the Democratic Action Party calling upon all Muslims to leave military units of the Hercegovina Brigade and all those able to fight were to report in the settlement Humci near Niksic to Mirsad Bijedic, who then would send them on to Rozaje. Vucurevic told us that it was Muslims who distributed these documents very discretely, and they even included an appeal to the effect that "all Muslims are to leave Trebinje in an organized fashion by order of headquarters."

Life goes on in Trebinje—from one curfew to the next, waiting for the new offensive. One question remains in the end: Does that other Trebinje still live here?

## Foreign Instructors in Bosnia-Hercegovina

*93BA0651A Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 19 Feb 93 pp 27-28*

[Article by Ivan Sabic: "Lebanon in Europe"]

[Text] *Hizballah instructors in Bosnia are training Muslim guerrillas.*

The influence of foreign factors, those from outside the territory of the former Yugoslavia, on the development of the situation in B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina] is becoming increasingly intensive as the war in B-H progresses. Besides the fact that Bosnia-Hercegovina and ending the war that is being waged there are a subject of discussion in the UN Security Council and within the framework of the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, B-H is becoming a subject of interest to international public opinion, in part because of a different internationalization of the situation there.

This involves most of all a violation of the embargo on arms imports to the countries of the former Yugoslavia, the fact that an increasing number of foreign nationals are joining the ranks of the belligerent armies, and the emergence of terrorist campaigns carried out by the extremist wings of national military-political organizations in B-H.

There is no need for special evidence of the illegal supply of arms to B-H, because this is proven by the very fact that certain parts of B-H have managed to resist one of the best-equipped armies in Europe. Moreover, examples of weaponry that did not exist in this area before the war can be seen on both sides of the front, and illegal deliveries of arms to Muslim units in B-H are indicated by the increasingly frequent charges by the Muslim press and Muslim military and political officials that Croat units in Hercegovina are taking a huge "commission" from every one of their arms transports.

While the illegal supply of arms to B-H is not a particular problem to Serb and HVO [Croatian Defense Council] units, because they are in direct contact with the countries in which their ethnic mainstreams are located, the Muslims have significantly greater difficulties with this type of business. Since there is not a single usable airfield in B-H under the control of Sarajevo authorities, the problems found particular expression after the heightening of Croat-Muslim conflict in central Bosnia, which meant additional problems for any transport in the direction of areas populated predominantly by Muslims.

### Unsuccessful Ultimatum

In October, a high-ranking delegation from Muslim organizations in B-H, headed by reis-el-ulema haj Jakub Efendi Selimovski, visited Turkey, Egypt, Iran, and the

oil-rich United Arab Emirates, while at the same time Dr. Mustafa Ceric and Salem Sabic visited Saudi Arabia.

Judging from the statements made by some members of the delegation upon their return, the main reason for these visits and the main subject of the talks that took place during the visits was the lifting of the embargo on the import of arms to B-H, or rather the formulation of such a demand at the sum[illegible] of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, wh[illegible] held in early December.

Indeed, an ultimatum [illegible] rom the summit to the world community. The date [illegible] 15 January was set as the deadline for the situation in B-H to be settled, and the participants in the conference emphasized that if there were no essential changes in favor of the Muslims by that date, then they would begin supplying arms to B-H on their own, regardless of the embargo. This was an attempt to legitimize what already exists in practice, but the international community turned a deaf ear. The frequent insistence by Islamic leaders that oil is their powerful weapon did not yield any result whatsoever.

Thus, whoever is brave enough continues to supply arms to B-H with the same risks and problems as before, while other countries continue to limit their activities to attempts to pressure the United Nations into lifting the embargo. Which of these two groups one belongs to depends, besides on the economic power of each individual Islamic country, on how much each of them worries about the reaction of the international community, especially of Western countries. Thus, Iran is the pioneer in the purchase and supply of weapons to B-H, while rich Gulf states that still exist thanks only to Western protection are forced to respect the rules established by the United Nations.

For the most part, the weapons that are supplied to Bosnian Muslims are acquired in the central Asian states that emerged from the former USSR, so that they are identical to what the Croats and Serbs have, because they were all provided from the depots of Eastern armies.

Besides weapons, soldiers are also being imported into B-H. A large number of Russians and soldiers from other countries of the former Warsaw Pact are fighting on the Serbs' side; there are some volunteers from Western countries in HVO units; and some volunteers from Western countries and a considerably larger number of warriors for Islam—mojahedin—are fighting for the Muslims. The presence of the last-mentioned group attracts the most attention because the world is afraid of an expansion of the influence of radical Islamic countries onto Europe soil.

**Motive Is Money**

After the recent deaths of two Britons fighting in the ranks of the Army of B-H, the British Foreign Office warned possible candidates of the danger to which they would be exposed if they decided to join the ranks of any of the armed forces that exist in the former Yugoslavia. British sources allege that there are around 100 British nationals involved in the war in the Balkans, but some sources indicate that there are thousands of them. Despite warnings, new fighters continue to leave for the former Yugoslavia. According to information reported by the Sky television network, 40 Britons who intended to join the Army of B-H were returned from the Zagreb airport. It was learned that each of them was paid 20,000 German marks prior to departure, while their weekly wage was 500 pounds.

Some of the fighters from Islamic countries have also said that money is their main motive and that it is given to them by rich Muslims from Bosnia who live in the West, but who for whatever reason are unwilling to go fight against Greater Serbian aggression. No one can determine the exact number of Islamic fighters, those fighting for Islam and those for whom money is a more important motive. Even the command of the Army of B-H does not know their numbers, and especially their identity. When Muslim-Croat clashes escalated in January, HVO sources disclosed information indicating that there are around 1,000 mojahedin in the region affected by conflict. Some estimates indicate that there are several thousand of them, while the Muslims only acknowledge their presence and are reluctant to discuss numbers. If they do talk about that, then they mention dozens or hundreds of fighters from Islamic countries.

Thus, little is known reliably. For example, it is known that a group of 50 members of Hizballah arrived in Bosnia in early November from Lebanon, bringing with them "only their know-how." Guerrillas from the known pro-Iranian organization serve as military instructors in B-H. Besides the Shiite Hizballah, the Sunni Tahid have also sent their people to Bosnia from Lebanon.

The first mojahedin began arriving in B-H immediately after the war began, together with truckloads of humanitarian aid. They came primarily from the Saudi lands, Iran, and Libya, while many of them had fought for years in Afghanistan, Iran, and Lebanon.

Last November in Travnik, foreign journalists discovered a group of 40 mujahidin, noting that there were a total of around 200 mojahedin and around 1,000 local men who had embraced Islam in that region. They dress like their idols, grow beards, and form special military units. There is still no special name for these fighters, aside from the fact that the obituaries for the dead, as in those for many other dead Muslims, state that they died as martyrs. The existence of such units is encouraged to a large degree by the lack of a Muslim national tradition, especially national heroes and myths to which the present-day fighters could resort, so that they are simply forced to embrace Khamenei, Saddam Husayn, and other known Islamic leaders. It is not unusual to see their images on the walls of rooms occupied by the command structures of individual Army of B-H units.

**Threat to Europe**

The supply of arms and military equipment and the trend of foreigners joining the armed forces fighting in

B-H are ways in which the world is exerting influence over events in B-H. However, the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina could also "spill over" into areas far beyond its borders. With every mention of the possibility of foreign military intervention in B-H, the Serb leadership predicts to the entire world the coming of war by all means, including terrorism. In this sense, the chief of the Main Staff of the Army of B-H, Sefer Halilovic was even more concrete when he spoke of European cities in flames.

The fact that the world took Halilovic's threat seriously was indicated recently, when the hijacking of a Lufthansa flight from Frankfurt to Addis Ababa was initially attributed to a "Bosnian between 20 and 30 years of age."

Naturally, the presence of Hizballah instructors in B-H has lent special weight to Halilovic's words. They have been there long enough for the first generation of their pupils to already be capable of serious action.

If the peace negotiations on B-H do not yield satisfactory results, then the teachers and pupils will have enough time for advanced training. A special role in this could be played by Muslim children who left as refugees for schooling in radical Islamic countries, as well former prisoners from Serb camps who went there to recuperate. They will have the opportunity to learn the ideas of Islamic fanatics, and they will probably be offered the possibility of training in terrorist and military camps as well, which many will accept with open arms, bearing in mind the situation in which the Muslim nation in B-H finds itself.

It is not hard to guess what will happen then. In that case, the parallel that is often drawn between Bosnia-Hercegovina and Lebanon will be appropriate.

## Vatican, Albania Role in Conversion of Muslims

*93BA0637B Banja Luka GLAS SRPSKI in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jan 93 p 7*

[Article by M. Milutinovic: "Catholicism as an Expression of 'Humanity'"]

[Text] We encounter the more organized conversion of Muslims to Catholicism in recent years when there was the change of government in Albania, when the Vatican sent more than 200 priests on behalf of an alleged revival of Catholicism. According to unofficial figures, nearly 200,000 people have converted to the Catholic faith in the last two years in Albania and Kosovo.

The offensive of the Catholic Church in the Balkans is also increasingly evident from the numerous indicators that in recent months its activity has been directed toward the Muslim population in Croatia, both those who have lived there for years and also toward refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H].

When the military pact was signed between Tudjman and Izetbegovic, many people noted that that kind of pact would be disastrous for the Muslim people. Down through history, after all, when the Muslims were the "flower of the Croatian people," the Catholic Church tried to convert them to the Catholic faith and create a reliable barrier against the Serbian people. Simultaneously, the Catholic Church strove through that policy to reach the Drina River, the age-old dream that has never been departed from. More than a year ago we were witnesses of Franjo Tudjman's sponsorship of a Muslim family which adopted Catholicism, which led to a sharp protest by the Islamic Community in Yugoslavia.

### The Zagreb Imam Is Protesting!?

In the New Year's issue of GLOBUS of Zagreb, Dr. Mustafa Ceric, Zagreb imam, condemned in an extensive interview the policy of the Catholic Church, which has already been exerting open pressure on Muslims to accept the new faith. That is the kind of protest with which the Islamic Community in Zagreb has rebelled against this kind of uncivilized act of the Catholic Church. However, all those warnings are not taken seriously in Croatia, and the Catholic Church is carrying out its drive according to plan, and then various self-styled Muslim leaders are found to justify such acts in the name of what is referred to as democracy.

Mirsad Baksic, president of the Croatian Muslim Democratic Party [HMDS] in Zagreb, was first among them. In his press release to the Croatian news media, he issued a public condemnation of Imam Ceric, who supposedly in the name of democracy does not have the right to influence people's religious and ethnic choices. According to him, no one has the right to influence people's freedom with respect to their opting for a religious, ethnic, or any other group. There is no doubt that Baksic did this on order from the Croatian powers that be in order to justify the conversion to Catholicism of Muslims who have lived in Croatia or who are coming in ever greater numbers from the former B-H.

As the public is aware, the Islamic Community in Zagreb, headed by Dr. Sefik Omerbasic, has for a long time been a place for receiving, arming, and dispatching mujahedini off to "humanitarian actions in Bosnia-Hercegovina." There have been numerous proofs of this, which contributes to an understanding of the role of the individuals most responsible for the numerous tortures of Muslim inhabitants. Mr. Omerbasic is always on the spot to be photographed with Tudjman and other Croatian dignitaries, and what happens to his believers is not important.

### Croats of Muslim Faith

On the basis of the most recent reports from the leaders of Herceg-Bosnia, it is quite evident that a new designation has turned up in the new vocabulary of Muslim faith, which, when the large support of the Western

world is borne in mind, will probably contribute to the spread of Catholicism on the territory of the former Bosnia-Hercegovina.

This confirms last year's forecasts of certain analysts that the Croats will fight in Bosnia-Hercegovina to the last Muslim. And truly, as time passes, as the situation develops and the crisis is resolved, we should expect nothing other than that the Muslims who have already fled to Croatia will soon convert to the Catholic faith, and much the same should also be expected in the regions of Herceg-Bosnia. It is altogether uncertain what response this will meet with among the Muslim inhabitants.

It is evident that the Croatian Government is carrying out a deliberate plan to convert the Muslim population to Catholicism. Well-informed sources say that the Muslims who have been living and working in Croatia for many years cannot obtain the "domovnica" [certificate of origin] as citizens of Croatia unless they first fulfill the requirement of converting to the Catholic faith. Much the same is being done with the Muslim refugees, who are trying to establish permanent residence in Croatia, and that is why such a campaign is going forward inexorably.

Noting the danger of such a policy of the Catholic faith toward the Muslim population, a number of groups of intellectuals from Tuzla, Sarajevo, and Bijeljina have already rebelled. To whatever extent their voices represent an expression of reality and the voice of reasonable men, they are not meeting with the necessary response in general circles. Time and subsequent events will show how things will in fact turn out. However, this has clearly crystallized the forecast made long ago by certain analysts that thanks to the policy of Alija Izetbegovic and those who think like him, Croatia will fight in Bosnia-Hercegovina to the last Muslim.

There have been attempts in public, although insufficient, to justify such a policy of the Catholic Church by saying that this is an act of humanity because in this way the Muslims are merely protecting themselves. Individuals are ready to justify the acts of the war criminal Alojzije Stepinac in World War II to convert Serbs to Catholicism as a human gesture to protect people. This kind of concern for the Muslim population could be disastrous in this kind of power context, but no one is ready to answer the question of what is being done to prevent it, least of all those who represent themselves as its leaders, who more and more are getting stuck in the mud of chaos and hopelessness.

## Article Says Turkish 'Commandos' Ready To Intervene

*93BA0655A Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 12 Feb 93 pp 30-31*

[Article by Fran Visnar: "Turkey and B-H: Suicide Commandos Ready"]

[Text] *Turkey has set aside specially trained soldiers for possible intervention in Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H], so-called suicide commandos.*

Turkish Armed Forces back in the Balkans? Very possible, especially since back in the summer of 1992 the Turkish general staff drew up a deliberate, detailed, and serious plan on NATO military intervention. Under that plan, the main air strike would be conducted by aircraft from the United States, France, Great Britain, and other members of NATO, while Turkey would carry out a major landing operation in the zone around Sarajevo together with several smaller ones around Zenica, Bihac, Gorazde, and Srebrenica—deploying its best troops (20,000 to 25,000 people with full combat training).

The Turks have set aside a total of three airborne landing brigades for intervention, one of which is a classic paratrooper-assault brigade while the other two are counterterrorist units, comprising soldiers for special warfare, so-called "suicide commandos," trained for combat under urban conditions as well as in unfavorable wooded and mountainous regions. The "suicide commandos" often stay on Turkish destroyers and other ships where they practice surprise amphibious landings in zones where terrorists are active. The Special Warfare Division is part of the Turkish ground forces, with 12,000 paratroopers and commandos, while Turkish airborne landing units have another 24,000 people in reserve (from age 31 to 46), grouped in six special-purpose brigades that are activated at least once a year.

Besides personnel, the Turks also offer all their heavy equipment (weapons for two complete infantry divisions) in order to force implementation of the peace plan in B-H. First on the long list of equipment are Leopard 1A3 tanks (superior to Serbian tanks). The Turks are willing to send them into B-H only in agreement with Croatia (by sea via Split). The same applies to U.S.-made M113 armored personnel carriers, as well as to the outstanding 106-mm M-40A1 recoilless guns, which under Bosnian conditions are mounted on jeeps, trucks, and armored personnel carriers and can easily destroy blockhouses and penetrate Serbian T-54, T-55, and T-34 tanks. As far as antitank weaponry is concerned, the Turks also offer Cobra, SS-11, Milan, and TOW [tube-launched, optically-tracked, wire-guided] missiles (German-, French-, and U.S.-made), which can easily destroy armored vehicles at a distance of two, three, or four kilometers.

Turkish artillery is par with that of NATO; it has great firepower and is mobile. Besides 105-mm and 155-mm guns and howitzers with the classical means of traction, the Turks can also contribute to B-H self-propelled 105-mm M-52 and M-108 howitzers, as well as the 155-mm model M-44 and the 203-mm model M-110 (the so-called "howitzer giant"). This heavy machinery is protected from air attack by the exceptionally good British Rapier missile system (range of up to 6.5 km at an altitude of 50 meters), and by U.S. Redeye MIM-43A light infantry antiair missiles (range up to 2,000 meters).

The Turkish ground forces can set aside 150 to 200 Agusta-Bell AB.205 and Bell UH-1H Iroquois helicopters for landing operations all over Bosnia, with the support of 50 0-1E Bird Dog piston-engined reconnaissance planes, which mostly correct artillery fire and locate enemy positions.

The Turks emphasize all the secret assets of their special forces. Specifically, in Turkey the official name of a member of elite airborne landing units is "paratrooper-commando." These troops were first heard of during the invasion of Cyprus in the summer of 1974, when their paratrooper brigade jumped behind the positions of the Cypriot National Guard, successfully connecting the Turkish marines and the infantry that had landed by sea, and thus resolving the war. It is interesting that volunteers are not accepted as paratrooper-commandos. After several months of basic military training, the officers themselves pick out soldiers, and if any of them fit in with the psychological and physical profile of commandos, then they are sent without hesitation to the paratrooper brigade for further training, which lasts four months.

Commando training camps are most often located in inaccessible mountain terrain, where work is done on developing the leg muscles and strength in the upper body, especially the arms, joints, and hands, augmented by daily sets of physical training lasting several hours. Every forced march is conducted with full battle gear, on the average 30 km with knapsacks and weapons. Naturally, some of the commando recruits must also carry heavy loads as punishment if they do not exhibit the proper attitude toward their commander. Running (and not jogging) is part of basic training and is done every morning, so that in this way several hundred kilometers of conditioning is accumulated every month, not counting the obligation to go on one night march a week, when a distance of 56 km must be covered in one stretch of nine hours.

During the first four months, paratrooper-commando candidates undergo a multitude of stressful situations. Later months, with already-hardened soldiers, will not be much better, nor will they get much more sleep. Indeed, it is only then that they are systematically subjected to "survival tests"—they receive reduced rations or simply go hungry. Experience has shown that Turkish paratrooper-commandos can live and function normally without any food for 10 days while covering 240 km by foot. Through long mental training, based on a minimum daily ration of food, the discomfort that results from hunger often decreases after only 72 hours, and at the very end of training commandos can live for six months on half the normal rations.

The paratrooper-commandos also learn how to handle "enemy" weaponry, especially all the types of Kalashnikov infantry weapons. But the Turkish commandos have more faith in so-called unarmed close combat and cold steel (meaning the knife, bayonet, paratrooper dagger, military hatchet and spade, modern miniature crossbow, and so forth) as well as in elements with which they can certainly survive under adverse conditions. After the first four months, the soldier-commando in training passes to the training course for paratroopers, and jumps regularly from C-130 Hercules transport plans and heavy helicopters.

After that, he is sent to specialized schools for handling explosives, radio sets and other means of communication, transport vehicles, and even light helicopters. Only then does he join his operative unit, where he remains until the end of active military service (18 months), participating in special missions (fighting against Kurds in Turkey, Iraq, and Syria).

While European and Turkish politicians are negotiating behind closed doors on the best military option for B-H, tens of thousands of Turkish commandos—every morning, regardless of the weather—are rhythmically marching in double time, with the thudding of their combat boots keeping pace with the song. Holding a nearly 5-kg gun in front of them, like a calculated burden, they sing in unison, as in a trance, while running the 16-km course, often repeating the most important verse of their modernized military anthem, even though it is three centuries old:

"We are the strongest of the strong, the toughest of the tough, the fiercest of the fierce...."

## SLOBODNA DALMACIJA Staff on Strike

*LD0903225493 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Excerpts] [Studio announcer] The newspaper SLOBODNA DALMACIJA [FREE DALMATIA] was not printed today. The decision to go on strike was made by a Strike Committee which is regarded by the Independent Trade Union of Journalists as being illegal. The Executive Board has said that the strike will not be successful, except for one part of the editorial staff. What is the situation there like?

[Correspondent Ivankovic] The front page of yesterday's SLOBODNA DALMACIJA includes, among other things: Since Monday at 1500 reporters, printshop workers, clerks, and drivers have not been working. In other words they have been on strike. However, today, the first day of the so-called strike, all sales personnel are working, the printing plant is also in full swing at this very moment; UNA of Sarajevo is being printed and tomorrow NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA will be printed. The workers of the transport and support services are also working etc. [passage omitted]

Only one part of the editorial staff of the newspaper SLOBODNA DALMACIJA are striking, which does not include these 30 or so journalists who gathered today at a news conference and whose signatures confirm their disagreement with the editorial staff junta who wanted to remain the newspaper's boss and to own large capital by applying Ante Markovic's [last prime minister of former Yugoslavia] privatization model. All this is disguised as their concern for freedom of the press and independence of the public word. [passage omitted]

There is something else here too. As far as the internationalization of the SLOBODNA DALMACIJA case is concerned, there have been all sorts of goings on indeed. For example, the influential REUTER has lodged a protest note with Croatian and international institutions over the alleged curbing of freedom of the press. This protest is signed by one Zoran Radosavljevic [Serbian-sounding name]. Hence, everything is clear.

And so is the fact that on Thursday, there will be the founding assembly of the SLOBODNA DALMACIJA Newspaper PLC, when those who have bought its shares [about 60 percent owned by a state-controlled bank] will became the bosses of this paper and will give a chance to work to everyone who wants to work while not denying the right to go on strike to those who have such an attitude toward their work.

## Trade Unions Send Protest Letter to State TV

*AU1003084493 Zagreb NOVI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 2 Mar 93 p 16*

[Undated "open" letter to the Croatian Radio Television Network from Dragutin Lesar, chairman of the Association of Independent Trade Unions of Croatia : "HRTV—False Image of Croatian Reality"]

[Text] Dear Sirs!

After successive letters and appeals, talks, and initiatives presented to certain officials of the Croatian Radio Television Network [HRTV], the Association of Independent Trade Unions of Croatia [SSSH] has decided to appeal to you publicly, explaining our belief that the future of our Croatia as a social and democratic state depends precisely on the democratization of the Croatian media.

The officials of HRTV have turned the most influential means of information into a bureaucratic and political machine, displaying a prevailing ignorant and unprofessional attitude towards its audience, and towards the independent television. There are other so-called state-owned channels, meaning state-controlled ones, present in the European media landscape, although they are a characteristic of former communist societies. Nevertheless, such channels are financed through state budgets, and have a clearly established democratic entity. HRTV, however, although a classic state-owned channel, is further "levying" a television license fee on its viewers, forgetting who finances it and whose interests and needs it should serve.

Such claims can easily be substantiated. For instance, to what extent has HRTV attempted to inform and educate the masses about the transformation of the state-owned companies? Has HRTV not "played its role" as educator of the people on behalf of many profiteers and financial stockbrokers who, thanks to the ignorance and lack of information among the masses, seized the former state-owned property, often having no assets of their own? Shouldn't HRTV be asked where are the programs that discuss the social and professional rights of the citizens, and in whose interest is it to neglect such programs?

What kind of editorial concept and what kind of state is it that nourishes ignorance, withholds information, and encourages the passiveness of Croatian democratic public opinion?

The perfidiously false image of the Croatian reality presented by HRTV is counterproductive to the establishment of a modern, democratic, social state. The SSSH, being the largest Croatian trade union organization, has often approached HRTV officials with specific initiatives and suggestions regarding certain channels, broadcasts, and topics, but the result was that the Croatian reality was admitted only in a few "Close-Up View" broadcasts. Obviously, it is very difficult to break through with initiatives that are not previously approved by the administration! Or, for instance, take the "The Shooting Season," a series that followed the example of standard talk-shows throughout Europe, which was quite short-lived, because it offered an opportunity for confrontational debate. It seems HRTV officials were not able to tolerate even that degree of freedom, evidently because of fears either for their own "seats" or for the people, who might have been confused by such a confrontation.

Faced with the war, as a result of which the independent media cannot survive, if only because the average citizen does not have the means even to ensure his mere existence let alone to buy newspapers, HRTV functions as the architect of the general social frame of mind, and often as the only channel of information through which the reality may be learned. Without appropriate democratic supervision, such a network can easily becomes a tool of manipulation.

The SSSH does not demand to see its own leaders in HRTV broadcasts, but it does demand that HRTV be a platform for the common economic, social, and career topics that are of interest to all the Croatian classes. SSSH members are not prepared to wait long for such pragmatic shifts in HRTV. SSSH members are more and more frequently suggesting to their leaders that they withhold payment of the television license fee as a way of protesting in a democratic and trade union-like way.

The Board of the SSSH has decided to try, as a first step, to appeal publicly to HRTV officials and Croatian public opinion, always preferring an open and democratic dialogue to direct trade union methods, calling for a critical reconsideration of the editorial concept and the way HRTV is financed, in the profound belief that these suggestions are in the interests of the Croatian citizens and state.

Yours sincerely,

Dragutin Lesarm, chairman of the SSSH

## Sarinic Meets WEU, NATO Officials

*LD0903233093 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] The Western European Union [WEU] is preparing tighter sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro. Our Foreign Minister Zdenko Skrabalo held talks in Brussels with WEU Secretary General Van Eekelen and NATO officials.

[Unidentified correspondent] The WEU is ready to contribute to everything in order to secure peace, while the engagement in the imposition of embargo against Serbia and Montenegro on the sea and on the Danube will particularly be intensified. At this moment, it is important, the WEU secretary general stressed, to step up pressure on Serbia in order to regain the somehow lost credibility of international institutions.

Particular attention was paid to Croatian positions as regards peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina, relations between Muslims and Croats in those areas, and the viability of the Vance-Owen plan.

NATO circles have intensified talks and the exchange of views on how to deal with the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina. As it was stressed in talks that Minister Skrabalo had in the NATO Secretariat General in Brussels, time is running out and everything ought to be done, and real and decisive moves ought to be made to contribute to the action of imposing peace. In this regard, talks between all parties will be intensified in order to secure peace in that part of Europe. An interest was shown in the wish of Croatia to join the structures of the coordination of security in Europe.

## Sarinic Views Talks With EC Leaders

*LD0903205393 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Excerpt] Croatian Prime Minister Hrvoje Sarinic is in Strasbourg today where he had talks with European leaders. He started his visit with a meeting with Catherine Lalumiere, secretary general [title as heard] of the Council of Europe. The main part of their talks referred to the economic situation in Croatia and what the European institutions can do to ease the situation and stimulate the reconstruction.

[Unidentified correspondent] Bringing Europe and Croatia together—these few words could describe the program of Croatian Prime Minister Hrvoje Sarinic's visit to Strasbourg, the seat of the Council of Europe and the European Parliament. The day was full of important meetings:

First with Council of Europe President Catherine Lalumiere. The main topics: observance of human rights and rights of minorities, freedom of media, transition to market economy, and the speeding up of a process for the admission of Croatia to the Council of Europe as a full member.

In connection with the SLOBODNA DALMACIJA case, Prime Minister Sarinic expressed the government's wish that an independent and eminent international organization should check on the privatization of the Split paper so that an objective truth is established which raised much media dust in member-countries of the Council.

The Croatian Government is also ready to let the third TV channel, the criterion is primarily market-orientated, not political. Representatives of the Council of Europe have been invited to visit Croatia more frequently in order to check on the situation in the media on site and on the complaints that some groups of Croatian citizens have persistently addressed to Strasbourg.

Croatia also asked for support in the already promised financial aid by the Council of Europe for the renovation of six hotels on the Adriatic coast for the accommodation of its refugees and displaced persons. They also spoke about the extension of the blue helmets' mandate, the current situation, Croatian views as regards the ceasing of hostilities in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the involvement of Croatia in the work of committees of the Council of Europe even before being officially admitted as a full member.

Catherine Lalumiere supported Croatian views while warning nevertheless that member-countries, which

should decide on the admission at a plenary session, are not fully in agreement as regards Croatia.

[Begin Sarinic recording] The second meeting which we have just finished was with EC Commission President Jacques Delors and Commission Vice President Van den Broek. All the members of our delegation are very satisfied with the meeting. Of course, there were inevitable political questions regarding the Croatian stand toward solving the Bosnia-Hercegovina problem, toward solving the problem of Krajinas, but we put the emphasis on economic problems, thanked for the humanitarian aid, but stressed that humanitarian aid is not sufficient. We also asked the EC to help us resolve our economic situation, particularly as regards launching public works.

I have to say that Mr. Delors showed great understanding for our situation. He said that some aid will be given immediately to Croatia, which does not require special negotiations, and that at the same time he is going to launch a comprehensive procedure, that is, an economic contract between Croatia and the EC so that Croatia can systematically receive aid in credit from the EC. [passage omitted] [end recording]

## Krajina Officer Denies Rift With Political Leadership

*AU1003085993 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Mar 93 p 5*

[Report by S.Radulovic: "The Army and Militia of the Republic of Serbian Krajina Are United"]

[Text] The political situation in the republic of Serbian Krajina is bringing the position of the Serbian army to the forefront as well. According to some moves made so far, it seems that the general staff of the Serbian army in Krajina is not on the side of the Krajina leadership. In a statement to BORBA, Colonel Kosta Novakovic, assistant commander of the Serbian army of Krajina did not want to comment on the political situation. He said that the Serbian army respects the official authorities and that it does not regulate who will exercise functions of power.

"The Serbian army is being built on the basis of the experience of the armies of western countries, on Serbian military tradition, and on good cooperation with the Serbian Orthodox Church with a view to strengthening unity in defending the republic of Serbian Krajina. The unity of the Serbian army and militia is manifest and that can only be a good sign when Krajina's defense is concerned," Col. Novakovic said, adding that General Mile Novakovic, commander of the Serbian army, recently met the commanders and subordinate commanders [komandir] of volunteer units. According to Col. Novakovic, the readiness on the part of all the volunteers to accept the unified command of the Serbian army general staff under Gen. Novakovic was once again expressed at this meeting.

"Even if there had been any disagreements, they have been settled," Col. Kosta Novakovic said, adding that the representatives of parties whose fighters are engaged in the Krajina battlefield point out that the joint struggle and not party affiliation of the fighters is what matters.

In reply to the question of why Gen. Novakovic does not speak in public, Col. Novakovic said that this conforms with the general staff's policy of not getting involved in political disputes, and that therefore Gen. Novakovic has not given any statements to the newspapers recently, including any confirmation that he issued the order to remove Arkan from Knin.

To the comment that there have been examples of officers making, conditionally speaking, political statements, such as when Colonel Rade Tanjga, head of the Serbian army, spoke at a meeting of the Association of Serbs from Croatia in Belgrade, Col. Kosta Novakovic said that the general staff of the Serbian army is not responsible for statements made by officers where it is not known who appointed them to their posts. Col. Novakovic added that it is better for them, as well as for those who present themselves in Belgrade as front-line fighters, to employ themselves on the Krajina battlefields.

The term "active defense" has recently been appearing very frequently and some think that the Serbian army is not active enough in Peruca and Maslenica, all of which causes speculation. Col. Novakovic resolutely claims that all speculation about the Serbian army's conduct and aims are without grounds.

"We are firmly holding the defense lines and the term 'active defense' is not arbitrary; what it means is well known. It has to be kept in mind that with their aggression against Krajina, the Croatian forces achieved nothing, because both Peruca and Maslenica, as well as the Zemunik airfield, are within range of our weapons. At the same time, Resolution 802 of the UN Security Council, as well as its decision of last September, which placed Peruca under UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] control, favors us, so it is clear what obligations both Croatia and UNPROFOR have," Col. Kosta Novakovic said.

## Southern Krajina Reportedly Under Attack

*AU0903171993 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Report by Danko Peric from Knin]

[Excerpt] The headquarters of the Serbian army of the republic of Serbian Krajina stated via its information center that Croatian artillery attacks were again directed toward the broader region of Pridraga, Obrovac, and Karin. Krajina's positions in the Skradin hinterland were subjected to attacks for more than one and a half hours last night. Croatian fighters are receiving reinforcements. After being attacked with artillery, Skradin

Gracac was attacked by infantry. At the same time, Croatian aircraft were noticed flying over the area. [passage omitted]

## RSK Accuses Government of Storing Nuclear Waste

*LD0903164493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1624 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Belgrade, March 9 (TANJUG)—The authorities of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) said on Tuesday that they had come by documents showing that the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia had been authorized at a meeting of the Hexagonal last year to stockpile radioactive materials and toxic chemicals in some Serb-populated areas.

The Krajina authorities said the meeting of the Hexagonal, an organization assembling six Central European countries, had been held in mid-September last year in Hungary.

The RSK government said the areas concerned were Western Slavonia, Kordun, Banija and Lika (all parts of the U.N.-protected RSK), as well as some parts of Dalmatia and certain Adriatic Sea islands, in Croatia.

The Serbs proclaimed the RSK in 1991 in areas inside the administrative borders of Croatia where they are the majority population in protest over Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia and the degradation of their status in its new constitution from a nation to a national minority.

RSK President Goran Hadzic late in February sent a letter to U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali in which he said there was evidence of growing incidence of cancer among the RSK population.

The Krajina government also said in its statement that it had raised the question in New York and Geneva, during recent meetings with cochairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance and David Owen, and that it had asked Dr. Ghali and UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] to send experts to investigate radioactivity in Krajina.

The Krajina Foreign Ministry intends in the next few days to inform about the problem the World Health Organization and prominent medical associations throughout the world.

## Serbs Organize 'First Professional Army Unit'

*LD0903195193 Belgrade TANJUG in Serbo-Croatian 1610 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Mar (TANJUG)—The first professional army unit has been set up in the Republic of Serb Krajina, ISKRA news agency learned today.

The general staff of the army of the Republic of Serb Krajina explained that this is a unit of great professional and technical capabilities with professional officer and army cadres. [Words indistinct] cadres for the units for special purposes and other units of the army of the Republic of Serb Krajina.

The professional brigade will have a tactical-operative character, will be deployed wherever required by the war situation, and will have its own flag and anthem.

## Kucan Urges Serbia Be 'Excommunicated'

*AU1003080793 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Our state delegation is completing its official visit to France. President Kucan and Foreign Minister Peterle met with Robert Badinter, president of the French Constitutional Council, and Maurice (?Dreon), president of the French Academy, this morning. Meetings with Rainer [name indistinct], President of the French Senate, and Pierre [name indistinct], president of the Socialist International, have also been announced.

President Kucan and Minister Peterle held a news conference for numerous French reporters at noon today. President Kucan assessed that his host [French President] Francois Mitterrand, prior to his talks in Washington today and prior to his visit to Moscow, displayed great interest in Slovenia's stand toward the Balkan crisis and the possibilities of ending the hostilities. As our correspondent Drago Flis reports, this was also the central topic of the news conference:

[Begin Flis recording] Slovene President Kucan in his talks with President Francois Mitterrand and other partners clearly stated that short-term tactics in the resolving of the Bosnia-Hercegovina crisis is primarily confined to the identification of the attacker, that is Serbia, which obviously wishes to conquer and then also keep, that is to say seize, a great portion of territory of, as Kucan stressed, sovereign Bosnia-Hercegovina. In doing so Kucan maintained a legalist attitude toward the Bosnia-Hercegovina crisis, namely, that this is, technically speaking, an attack on a completely sovereign country that is a UN and CSCE member. According to Kucan, only international excommunication can represent a direct means of pressure by Europe upon Serbia while a war, for the time being, cannot be means of pressure yet. Serbia should be excommunicated from the international community so that it would understand the pressure as an imperative to end the conflict. Serbia must prove that it wishes to live and act in peace and according to the provisions of the Helsinki and Paris Charters. Bearing in mind the actual situation, it is currently obviously not doing so.

Shifting the crisis to the United Nations' responsibility alone, which is essentially a non-European organization, would not provide great chances for the solution of the crisis, according to Kucan.

The visit of the Slovene President in Paris was inevitably burdened by the Bosnia-Hercegovina crisis. This was today in a sense balanced by the topics that concern the French-Slovene relations. For example, the Slovene President today held talks with President of the French Senate [name indistinct] who was primarily interested in Slovenia's economic development and also in the principles of the flow of foreign capital. Namely, France is interested that Austria, Italy, and perhaps Germany would not gain the decisive role in the Slovene economic development. We should strive to maintain balance in this sense.

During the visit to the venerable French Academy, President Kucan gave a facsimile of the Freising Documents [Brizinski Spomeniki], which is the first written document in the Slovene language, to the director of this institution, (?Dreon).

The Slovene side in the French Academy also displayed interest in French assistance in teaching the French language in Slovenia, as Slovenia culturally and linguistically definitely does not wish to unilaterally limit itself to only one foreign linguistic sphere, for example, exclusively English or German.

Among Kucan's other meetings today, it is worth mentioning his meeting with prominent French international lawyer Robert Badinter, who was one of the first international legal experts to recommend the recognition of Slovenia to the EC. Badinter is now one of few respectable legal experts who is still interested in the problem of Yugoslavia's succession. This problem recently disappeared from the agenda of the international and European community. However, Slovenia is very interested in some aspects of this process, therefore, Robert Badinter will be most welcome in Slovenia in the next few weeks. [end recording]

## Trade Unions Protest Wage Freeze, Threaten Strike

*LD0903193493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1744 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Ljubljana, Zagreb, March 9 (TANJUG)—The former Yugoslav republics of Croatia and Slovenia were on Tuesday [9 March] struck by a wave of trade union protests over low wages and rising prices.

Several hundreds major trade union representatives gathered in the centre of the Slovenian capital, Ljubljana, to protest a government decision to freeze wages.

The Slovenian Government recently announced it would freeze wages as part of a number of measures against the growing threat from the uncontrollable inflation hike and the disruption of the already unstable balance of the economy.

If parliament confirms the government demand, the Slovenian trade unions will organize a general strike. Initial estimates are that it could involve as much as 60 percent of the work force, i.e. over 350,000 workers and employees.

This would be the biggest social revolt in the history of this breakaway former Yugoslav republic.

A wave a trade union protests is also slowly spreading throughout Croatia due to extremely serious social problems, low wages and a price hike.

The Croatian trade unions called on all citizens to shut off all lights on Tuesday evening for 15 minutes and light candles in windows as a sign of support for the trade unions' demands.

The Croatian workers are demanding that the wages for one work hour should not be lower that the average price for one kilogram of bread, they oppose the limitation of wages, demand the free distribution of shares in the transformation of firms and a special session of the Croatian parliament.

A four-hour protest strike has been scheduled for Friday and many firms have agreed to take part in it.

"There is nothing left to give up—we face the reality of social poverty and waiting in the early morning hours in breadlines in the hope of buying the cheaper rye bread, while our future are soup kitchens and public works," the Croatian independent trade unions said.

Before seceding from former Yugoslavia, Croatia and Slovenia were its most developed republics.

## Rise of Crime in All Categories Reported

*93BA0664A Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 18 Feb 93 p 19*

[Article by Mojca Furlan: "Foreign Criminals Interested in Slovenia"]

[Text] *Crime increased by about 27 percent last year, and international smuggling channels were also discovered; because of the closeness of the war areas, we are increasingly tolerant of violence, and more intolerant of foreigners.*

Ljubljana, 18 Feb—"Slovenia is becoming very interesting to organized international crime; last year we discovered smuggling channels for drugs, stolen cars, and so forth. The closeness of the war areas has caused us to become increasingly tolerant of violence, and increasingly intolerant of foreigners, including refugees. Difficulties are occurring in relations with Croatia—the state border has not been precisely delineated, and we have approximately 20 so-called gray zones, and therefore border incidents. There is more and more social crime, which is brought by low wages and unemployment, and a 'semicriminal economy' is also spreading, in which everything is permitted that is not explicitly prohibited," State Secretary Bogo Brvar described the current security situation in Slovenia. Otherwise, yesterday's press conference at the Interior Ministry dealt primarily with the work of the uniformed police and the detectives last year.

The director of the detective service, Dr. Darko Maver, said that last year crime in Slovenia grew by approximately 27 percent. "The figure is very high, especially if we consider that many crimes remain undiscovered. Western countries sound the alarm if the increase is 5 to 10 percent," Dr. Maver said, and emphasized that the perpetrators were increasingly younger, and more organized and violent. There has been an increase in the number of murders and attempted murders, and the fact that they are increasingly brutal and more and more often due to greed is also disturbing. The number of punishable acts associated with drugs increased by 30 percent last year. Our police captured about 15 kilograms of heroin, 20 kilograms of marijuana, and seven kilograms of hashish, and finally, nine people died here because of drugs. Dr. Maver estimates that approximately 100 kilograms of heroin go through Slovenia every week. Last year, the police also had a great deal of work because of counterfeit money, primarily tolars. They discovered 248,000 1,000-tolar bank notes, of which 9,000 were put into circulation. They charged 53 people because of it, and an international warrant has been issued for the principal figure in this business. There is also more and more economic crime, and last year the damage from it was approximately 10 billion tolars.

Protection of the state border is one of the more important tasks of the Slovene police, who have the most difficulties on the border with Croatia. Last year it was crossed by more than 50 million travelers. During that period 81,355 foreigners were turned back at the borders, mostly on the border with our southern neighbor. There were 75 border violations counted, of which 67 were on the Slovene-Croatian border. As Pavle Celik, the Slovene police commander, pointed out, traffic safety deteriorated last year, and the number of violations against public order and peace grew by 25 percent. Two-fifths of the perpetrators of these violations are foreigners, primarily citizens of the former Yugoslavia.

Bogo Brvar emphasized that this year they will continue the reorganization of the Slovene police, and above all, the new law on public safety should provide a legal basis for the new territorial organization. They are also planning closer cooperation with the Interpol center in Lyon, they will try to establish better relations with the police in the former Yugoslav republics, they will conclude an agreement with the Austrians on joint control of our northern border, they will advocate a new division of labor between the customs service and the police, and so forth and so on. A great deal of work is thus still ahead of the Interior Ministry this year as well.

## New National Party President Interviewed

*93BA0653B Ljubljana SLOVENEC in Slovene 15 Feb 93 p 2*

[Interview with National Party President Marjan Stanic by unidentified reporters, summarized by Igor Krsinar; place and date not given: "'The Court Will Decide on the Party's Legacy'"]

[Text] On Saturday, the Slovene National Party [SNS] elected a new president, 44-year-old Marjan Stanic, a paper technician and former secretary of defense in the Ljubljana Siska municipality. He was one of the party's

five founders (along with Zmago Jelincic, Ferdinand Debeljak, Stanislav Zagar, and Matije Salehar). The changes in the party actually started with his expulsion from the deputies' group. The other three cofounders of the SNS have also turned their backs on Jelincic.

[SLOVENEC] What is the significance of today's extraordinary SNS congress?

[Stanic] Today's congress was probably our party's first legitimate congress, since we elected its bodies democratically; we have now elected a new president and a supervisory committee. We will also promote legitimacy in court, and thus regulate the SNS's legacy. Let me also say that it is not a matter of two different parties, but rather of one SNS party, which has its own program. As the chairmen of the regional committees, we promised the voters that we would fulfill the party's program, and we are not giving up on this.

[SLOVENEC] Is Zmago Jelincic still one of your members?

[Stanic] Of course. It was only a vote of no confidence in his presidency that was passed at the congress, not in his membership.

[SLOVENEC] He will probably not just give up the presidency of the party that he is supposed to have founded himself.

[Stanic] I will not lower myself to his level and slander him in the newspapers; a competent court will decide, on the basis of all the valid documents, who has a right to the party's legacy. His founding the party himself is an absurdity.

[SLOVENEC] Who will the SNS deputies be now, and how will they divide up the monetary funds taken over by the party?

[Stanic] In my opinion, the State Assembly will probably have to adopt a moratorium on the payment of these funds until the court decides on the legacy. It is still possible that the other SNS deputies will also reconcile themselves to the congress and that we will unite in a normal SNS deputies' group, and jointly create a strong opposition, which the parliament urgently needs.

[SLOVENEC] What do you think about the congress that Jelincic intends to convene in March?

[Stanic] I actually do not know what legal possibilities he has for that. Today's congress was not convened by me or by any of my deputy colleagues, but was instead convened at the request of a majority of the regional committees, which is also in accordance with the new statute. I don't know what statute he intends to use as a basis for convening the congress. The fact is that he is using extremely low blows, so he will probably act in an extremely refined way.

[SLOVENEC] How much support do you have among the membership?

[Stanic] It is very hard to say. The members' opinions are very mixed, because recently Zmago has been traveling a lot through Slovenia and trying to persuade them with various methods and telegrams to sign a statement of loyalty. He is acting as if it is his party and his private property, and he is convinced that that is the case.

[SLOVENEC] What about the expelled members—were they rehabilitated at the congress?

[Stanic] I think that those expulsions are not legally valid, and the expulsion document itself has absolutely no legal basis. According to the statute, a member can be expelled by the presidency, but there has never been one. We will only elect a presidency at the next congress. This party has never had democratically elected bodies, but rather only appointments. Even in the regional committees, the chairmen were appointed and dismissed by Zmago himself. That is why I reject the legitimacy of those expulsions.

[SLOVENEC] Since Jelincic thinks that the congress was convened by non-members of the SNS, we are interested in which ones are still formally party members.

[Stanic] Jelincic can say what he wants, but legally things are different. Since there is no presidency, there were no expulsions, and consequently we also cannot speak of a congress of non-members.

[SLOVENEC] Consequently, all those who joined the party are still members, regardless of when Jelincic expelled them?

[Stanic] Since there has never been a presidency, all the "expelled" members are still members. To be sure, Zmago published the names of several presidency members in the newspapers, including Polonco Dobrajc, who was not even an SNS member before the elections. He likewise also chose some people himself to represent the presidency externally, but otherwise the party has never had a presidency. With the new statute, the chairmen of the regional committees will form one.

## Federal

### Kontic Rules Out Anti-Inflation Program

*LD0903134993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1336 GMT 9 Mar 93*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Podgorica, March 9 (TANJUG)—The implementation of a classic anti-inflation programme in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will not be possible while international economic sanctions are in force, said Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic in an interview to Radio Montenegro on Tuesday [9 March].

With February's 211.8 percent rise in prices Yugoslavia's annual inflation has passed a record one million percent.

Inflation is the direct result of an imbalance on the external and internal planes. It is impossible to resolve the problem of inflation when there are no imports or exports, said Kontic.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's links with the world were practically severed in May 1992, when the United Nations Security Council introduced sanctions against Yugoslavia for its alleged involvement in the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Kontic cautioned that longlasting inflation could lead to the destruction of the economy and that the "disintegration of the country's economic and financial systems" would follow.

For the duration of sanctions, the federal government's activities would be directed towards alleviating negative trends in the price sector and making them bearable, said Kontic.

### Kontic Says Serb Patience 'Not Without Limits'

*AU0903182293 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Mar 93*

["Excerpt" of interview with Prime Minister Radoje Kontic by an unidentified Montenegrin Radio correspondent on 9 March; place not given—recorded]

[Text] The strategic aims of the new Federal Government are not possible to realize while the sanctions are in effect and while we remain isolated by the international community. Therefore, the duration of the sanctions represent, in fact, a precondition, as well as the primary risk for my optimism, regardless of how it is described. I say risk because the international community's reaction is almost (?independent of our influence) and, therefore, cannot be predicted. However, we must not reconcile ourselves with this and I think that we should undertake all necessary measures at home and abroad to lift the sanctions as soon as possible.

Once the sanctions are lifted, then my optimism will become real. I am deeply convinced that our economy is extremely flexible. The economy has convincingly proven this with its operations under the sanctions and blockade in the period behind us. Our citizens have also proven that they are exceptionally flexible and creative and I fully believe in their entrepreneurial spirit.

Because of all this, I do not have any doubts that our economy will recover quickly and reintegrate into the world market when the embargo is lifted. My cautious optimism is based on that.

We will not spare any efforts to contribute as much as we can to end the war in the former Bosnia-Hercegovina and find solutions on the basis of a consensus of the three peoples. We must proceed from the causes of the conflict and understand that a solution imposed with force is only a temporary solution. We are also taking specific steps to prevent armed attacks on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and are also trying not to be provoked and, thus, involved in large-scale clashes.

However, I must also stress that I expect the international community to react in time because our patience is not without limits. We are also closely following the situation in the Serbian Krajina, which is under UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] protection. We insist that the Croatian side observe Security Council Resolution 802 on withdrawing to its initial positions. We have also prepared a request for the UN secretary general to extend the UNPROFOR mandate.

### Cosic Calls for Constitutional Reform

*LD0903155393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1532 GMT 9 Mar 93*

["Pool" item]

[Text] Podgorica, March 9 (TANJUG)—President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Dobrica Cosic has again called for a thorough constitutional reform in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and its Republics of Serbia and Montenegro so as to make possible the surmounting of separatism and antagonism.

"There are on our territory three parallel, mutually uncoordinated and, in some ways, even antagonized states," Cosic said in an interview published by the Podgorica daily POBJEDA in its Wednesday [10 March] edition.

"I therefore advocate a thorough constitutional reform of the three states on the territory of Serbia and Montenegro, changes and improvement of the federal and republic constitutions and their mutual coordination," said Cosic.

"We must no longer close our eyes before separatist tendencies in Serbia and Montenegro," said Cosic, adding that separatism could "destroy us if we fail to

oppose it with democratic means, honesty and modern political concepts of a new common state."

He described the international sanctions and isolation as "political options blocking the development of democracy" in Yugoslavia.

On May 30, the United Nations Security Council imposed unjust and tough economic and political sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia because of its alleged involvement in the civil and religious war among Moslems, Serbs and Croats in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Besides the sanctions, the development of democracy is also blocked by "the Titoist legacy and autocracy expressed through (Serbia's ruling) Socialist Party, as well as by the right-oriented and conservative opposition, extreme nationalism of the Serbian Radical Party (the strongest opposition party in the federal and Serbian parliaments), Montenegrin secessionist tendencies in its several forms and the conformity and defeatism of the intelligentsia," said Cosic.

The Yugoslav president said he believed this was the result of "insufficient political culture of the population, whom the current isolation and economic poverty are pushing into national and social despair."

## Leading Banks Deny Blackmail by Political Parties

*AU0903215893 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] No one from the ranks of the ruling party, oppositon, or any other party has been blackmailing or exerting pressure on Dafiment Bank. This was stated for TANJUG by the bank's spokeswoman, Slavica Vujicic. After all, many people from the above-mentioned circles have deposited money in Dafiment Bank and it would indeed be illogical for them to demand a racket or similar behavior.

Regarding pressure or a scheme for institutions and some individuals in Credibel Bank, this did not happen. The economic chaos and nonmarket behavior by some entities represent a kind of pressure. This should be stopped as soon as possible. This was stated for TANJUG by Credibel Bank's spokesman.

## Central Bank's Warning on Pseudo-Banks

*93BA0655B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Feb 93 p 15*

[Article by Biserka Dumic: "Warning From National Bank of Yugoslavia: Beware of Pseudo-Banks"]

[Text] *The Central Bank has never heard of many of the financial organizations that are dealing in both dinars and foreign exchange; is the Economic Court registering banks without regard for regulations; federal inspection inactive—and powerless.*

Banks, savings institutions, and currency-exchange offices, like nowhere else in the world, have been springing up in our country lately like mushrooms after the rain. In their newspaper and television ads, many of them offer citizens incomprehensibly high interest on savings in both dinars and foreign exchange.

The question of who is behind these, shall we say, financial organizations appears to be of little importance to the people swarming forward, lured by earnings without work. But something else that the new depositors probably do not know is indeed important: that many banks only call themselves "banks," but actually are not!

### How Many Banks There Are Officially

When you try to get the address or telephone number of new (pseudo-) banks offering high interest, even higher than that offered by "Dafiment Banka," from information at 988, you are told that these banks are not registered as banks. They are probably registered under the owner's name, the friendly operators add. We then turned to the National Bank of Yugoslavia [NBJ] to see if we could not find out something about the new "banks" from them. We were informed that the central bank knows absolutely nothing about them! However, we did learn something there—that there is general chaos on the financial market with regard to the founding of banks.

As is known, banks can be registered only in accordance with the Law on the National Bank of Yugoslavia, which through its board of governors grants licenses. Despite this, it is publicly asserted that there are currently 101 banks in Yugoslavia. The exact figure is 98, however. The reason for this is that some banks got their license but did not begin operating within the legal time period. Of this total number of banks, 51 have been registered over the past two or three years.

The last bank to be registered, in July of last year, is "AIK DD Crvenka," we learned at the NBJ, and the people at the central bank know nothing about all the other financial firms that have been operating under the name "bank" since then.

"The Economic Court simply registers all sorts of banks, relentlessly. There is no law on protecting the name, which could weigh them down. They are all operating illegally, and the people are being deceived," says Slobodanka Pops-Dragic, the director of the division supervising business and the founding of banks at the NBJ.

Asked how the Court can do this, Ms. Pops-Dragic responded, "We too are astonished at what all is springing up. We cannot do anything about this. The Court is to blame because it registers unlicensed banks. It should delete from the register all those that are listed there illegally.

"Most of all, the Economic Court must verify the original capital of the future bank. This means that it should

not list them in the register until the founders provide confirmation that they have invested money temporarily in the Service for Trade Payments. The Court should also bear in mind," Ms. Pops-Dragic adds, "the Law on Foreign-Exchange Transactions, and the fact that it prevents them from engaging in business to which they have no right, meaning to register them."

In Article 58, the Law on Foreign-Exchange Transactions also says that a license to engage in foreign-exchange and currency transactions can be obtained only from the NBJ, or rather that only banks can engage in this business.

**Inspectors Thrown Out**

But it is quite certain that various savings institutions and similar financial organizations are engaged in foreign-exchange transactions, or more precisely foreign-exchange savings, offering citizens high interest. Powerless to stop the newly founded hybrids of banks, the NBJ recently sent a memorandum to the Economic Court asking them how they can register someone as a bank if they do not have a license for that activity from the central bank. Right now, preparations are being made to send a similar memorandum, or rather complaint, to the Ministry of Justice.

Most likely, the Court has "conformed" to the Law on Banks, Article 77, which relates to financial organizations: postal savings institutions, savings and loan associations, and savings institutions in general. According to Article 76, no one guarantees these dinar savings deposits. In translation this means that the depositors themselves are bearing the risk by investing in these savings institutions.

Control over whether someone is engaged in foreign-exchange transactions without being a real bank should be exercised by the Federal Foreign-Exchange Inspectorate as well. We say "should" because we have learned from that inspectorate that there has been no control thus far.

"We are planning to look into all of these, as you say, supposed banks, savings institutions, and currency-exchange offices shortly, with the financial police and people from the SUP [Secretariat for Internal Affairs]," we were told by one of the federal inspectors after we failed yesterday to find the top official, who was in a meeting.

Asked why federal inspectors have yet to do what they are supposed to do, which is to inspect, we were told that "we tried but we were not successful. You know, it is a little risky. Recently, when two inspectors went to a currency-exchange office on Cumicevi Sokace, they were thrown out."

Chaos in the state apparently attracts other types of chaos, including on the financial or, if you wish, banking market. Everyone tries to fish in troubled waters as quickly and easily as possible, while those who should thwart them remain silent. As if they are not seeing and hearing what is happening around them. It is obvious that this is a crime. Adequate proof that everyone can do what they want is provided by the "case" of the (federal) inspectors thrown, like suitcases, out of the place where it was their duty to go.

## Entrepreneurs Not Renouncing Balkan Union

*93BA0652B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Feb 93 p 14*

[Article by S. Bogdanovic: "Businessmen Against the Politicians"]

[Text] Politicians and businessmen are obviously moving more and more seriously apart when it comes to the Balkans.

While private businessmen and employers of the Balkan countries are strengthening their activities every day toward establishing linkage and renewing severed business ties, certain politicians are obviously not giving up the idea of planting the seeds of certain new, more accurately old, conflicts and unrest on the soil of the Balkans. This conclusion is simply unavoidable on the basis of the fact that at a time when business people from the Balkans, who held an advisory meeting back in September of last year, are thinking about new activities and about holding a founding assembly, and when employers are making a great effort to form a Balkan economic federation, the Turkish leader Turgut Ozal is setting out on his by no means harmless trip on that same Balkan soil, where he intends to visit Sofia, Skopje, Zagreb, and Tirana. Certainly not in order to strengthen business ties.

We do not know whether Mr. Ozal is aware that businessmen even from his country have expressed a desire to join the Balkan businessmen's federation and that in the activities up to this point businessmen of Bulgaria and Albania have been almost the most active and attended the meeting in Ohrid and that Skopje has been selected for the location of this association's headquarters. But, be that as it may, the only thing certain is that this unquiet region is just as attractive to leaders inclined toward divisive undertakings as it is to those who hold sizable amounts of capital in their hands. Aside from that, it is a fact that even states that are not "typically" Balkan are interested in business cooperation under the sponsorship of some Balkan association. That is the case with Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Hungary.

**How To Set Out on a Trip Without Gasoline**

As was announced to us, however, by Dragan Nikolic, president of the Federation of Independent Businessmen's Associations of Serbia, happenings in the Balkan region at the moment are not furthering the idea of unification at all: "Although the Slovenes, Hungarians, and Romanians report regularly, because in a way I am their 'contact' with the Balkan association, what is

happening to us certainly is not helpful—the planes are still flying, there is no gasoline, and it is difficult in this cold weather to travel by any other means, and now the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] has even gone to Macedonia," Nikolic explains and adds: "I nevertheless think that this idea of ours will survive. There is also the possibility of moving the headquarters of that federation of Balkan businessmen to Serbia. I nevertheless hope that the founding meeting will be held in early March; it was supposed to be held in November, and then in December, but was postponed, and that then everything will be much clearer. Then the final decision would also be made on where the association's headquarters will be located."

We should recall that the meeting in Skopje was supposed to be held at precisely the time when disorders broke out among the merchants in Bit Pazar and when the police had their hands full. Aside from that, the leaders of the world powers also made a decision at that time in Edinburgh to recognize yet another state in the south of the European continent—Macedonia. The combination of all those circumstances caused the businessmen to flinch and postpone their founding assembly for more peaceful times. Circumstances, it is easy to conclude, are not working in their favor, but it is certainly encouraging that they have not given up their idea and have stuck by the decision made in early December, when the meeting actually was supposed to be held, that they must meet in March regardless of the circumstances.

**A "Selective Embargo" in the Works?**

Mr. Jezdimir Vasiljevic, owner of Jugoskandik, judging by recent activities, is also firming up more and more his idea of creating a Balkan economic federation.

When we tried to contact him yesterday, we were told that he is traveling precisely in that connection and that he will be returning on Wednesday with the most up-to-date information on possible new members of this association.

Bratislav Djurovic, secretary of the General Syndicate of Businessmen of the Belgrade City Assembly, which has joined in this entire project, told us that this idea is even more important because it also aims at bringing in the Serbian krajinas, Cyprus, and perhaps even certain other interested countries although they do not fall within the Balkans.

"I would remind you that something has already been done in this respect. The syndicate of employers was formed on 31 December back in 1991, and it signed its first contract on cooperation on 25 January of this year with the syndicate of Bulgarian employers, the Potkrepa K.T. The federation, then, is starting out with two members, but our side has already managed to bring together more than 2,000 members," Djurovic mentions.

In a situation when there are organizations representing the workers, and then those that protect the interests of the government, it is understandable, in his opinion, that the employers also want to have "their own house." The idea of creating a Balkan economic federation has met with an excellent reception, which certainly will not suit those who in advance associate the entire project with the sole phrase of "violating the embargo," overlooking the fact that the new association has legally requested and obtained permission for a selective embargo to be applied to it and that it has accordingly already obtained certain permits to import certain quantities of petroleum, drugs, and food.

Judging by these activities, it is not difficult to conclude that the private operators will not easily give up their ideas, more accurately, that they will not easily allow tragic political maneuvering to destroy their capital.

## Rapes in Bosnia-Hercegovina Discussed

*93BA0666F Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Feb 93 p 22*

[Article by Zorica Ostojic: "Our Topic: Truths and Mistakes About Raped Women: Silence Due to Shame"]

[Text]*The first recorded case of rape was registered on 3 September 1992; untrue allegations that approximately 50,000 Muslim women have been raped; unwanted children end up at the Home for Infants on Zvecanska Ulica in Belgrade; money for abortions and treatment of these afflicted women is being allocated by the republic government.*

As of today, there are no official data on the number of raped and pregnant women in Bosnian and Croatian camps. It was only when the opposing side issued the report that Serb soldiers had raped between 30,000 and 50,000 Muslim women that the Serbian Medical Society reacted. Talk of this subject began in the middle of last year, but the first recorded case was registered on 3 September.

The woman arrived at the Obstetric-Gynecological Clinic [GAK] on Visegradska Ulica after having been in two camps, seven and a half months pregnant. According to her own statement, she was raped in a Croatian camp in Slavonski Brod. In April, she was transferred to the Muslim camp in Odzaci, where she remained until August. When she arrived at the Belgrade hospital, she was unable to do anything. She gave birth in October. According to the head of the abortion department at GAK on Visegradska Ulica, Chief of Staff Dr. Miomir Krstic, the child ended up at the Home for Infants, Children, and Youth on Zvecanska Ulica.

**From Suicide to Revenge**

"A total of five women have arrived here thus far. All are from Bosnia. They are examined and tested for AIDS, and all of them have given statements to the War Crimes

Commission about what happened to them. Of the five who have contacted us, two gave birth and the others had abortions," says Dr. Krstic.

One case has also been recorded at the hospital in Novi Sad. The circle is closing here. One can only guess at what the real number of them is. Because the majority of them want to hide their shame, at any price. In addition, there is the realization that they will be stigmatized and rejected by their husband and family. This is exactly what was discussed by Prof. Dr. Slobodan Jakulic, the division director at the "Dr. Laza Lazarevic" Neuropsychiatric Hospital.

"Thus far, we have had 32 women who said that they had been raped. Six of them were pregnant. All of them were deeply depressed, suicidal, but also instinctively vengeful."

Dr. Jakulic says that the physical act of rape paled in comparison with other agonies; because of the suffering endured, many are condemned to spending the rest of their lives with neuropsychiatrists, because the desire for suicide is not easily held in check, even after treatment. Two women tried to take their lives after leaving the hospital. The most horrible thing in Dr. Jakulic's opinion is the knowledge that all these cases involve young girls. One 21-year-old student did not even tell her parents what she had been through, for fear that they would not understand.

Dr. Jakulic also comments on the figure of several tens of thousands of raped women that is cited off-handedly:

"That is not serious, to put it mildly. I also told that to Mazovetskiy when he came here with the commission. I can say reliably that there could be several hundred of them, although I think that the number will never be determined for the reasons noted above. It is psychopaths who are resorting to rape. On all three sides. They account for between 3 and 5 percent of the total number of soldiers. Anyway, just think about how the Bosnian Serbs would fight if they were raping that many Muslim women every day. At certain other times, this would be the best advertisement for Serbs and their manliness. And that is exactly what I said when they were here."

Despite the fact that no one knows the exact number of women raped on all three sides, Dr. Jakulic emphasizes that it is easy to come up with a realistic number if one knows the number of soldiers in all three armies and derives the percentage of psychopaths.

It is part of human nature to feel fear, and in order to dispel fear, Dr. Jakulic says, every army uses alcohol and drugs. Rape does not occur to them. With regard to Serbian soldiers, they have no contact with narcotics, leaving only alcohol, which, as we know, is used in great quantities.

**Abortion With Commission's Blessing**

Judging from statements made by officials, practically no one is even concerned about these unfortunate women. The act of rape is considered part of the scope of the State Commission for the Establishment of War Crimes. Nevertheless, the Commission has "counted" only 10 cases thus far. The Ministry of Health sent around a circular to 50 Serbian hospitals in Yugoslavia instructing them to compile a list of raped women. Several months have gone by since then, and no response has come in. The question arises of who is paying for medical services, how, and to whom. Assistant Republican Minister of Health Dr. Slobodan Milenkovic has this to say about that:

"The Decree on Refugees contains a part referring to health care. According to that decree, the government of the Republic of Serbia allocates money from the fund for treating refugees and hands it over to the Commissariat for Refugees. The final collective settlement and payment is made by the republican Ministry of Health. The amount is almost half as much as for the population of Serbia. The same is true of raped and pregnant women needing medical care."

Dr. Milenkovic emphasizes another reason why it is impossible to determine an exact number of raped and pregnant women. Under our law, any woman can have an abortion up to the 10th week without consulting anyone. Only after that is approval by a second-level commission required, which must know the reasons for this decision. In such cases, there are no obstacles if the woman is healthy or has not waited too long. It is assumed that any raped woman who "was lucky enough" to get rid of her embryo early in her pregnancy will carry her secret with her and keep her personal shame to herself.

But even this opinion can be left open in view of the fact that in September the Serbian Medical Society signaled the republican Ministry of Health that two buses of women were arriving from Bosnian camps. Attorney Suzana Bjelogrlic says that around 400 women entered Serbia at that time, but that no one has heard anything about them to this day.

[Box, p 22]

**Broadcast From the Small Screen: Rape Is a Crime**

Asked whether there are any records on women raped in Bosnia, Dr. Vojin Sulovic, the president of the Serbian Medical Society, recently said the following, among other things, during a broadcast by Djoka Vjestica on Independent Television Studio B:

"The Serbian Medical Society of Serbia recently entrusted the Serbian Ministry of Health with sending out a memo to all hospital departments where abortions due to rape are performed, advising them to apply the provisions of law to abortions on such women.

"This is because," Dr. Sulovic continued, "rape must be seen in two regards: as rape for the purpose of satisfying sexual needs, which happens in life outside of wartime as well, because there are always twisted people, and rape during wartime when it represents a desire to humiliate the other nation, to inflict mental humiliation in addition to physical destruction. That is a crime regardless of who commits it, and where....

"How many of these people are there who have been raped? I cannot answer that. I have no order-giving authority. Of course, if there were someone with this authority, then I would have these figures in 48 hours!"

## Data on Rapes Reported in Bosnia Questioned

*93BA0659C Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 19 Feb 93 pp 26-28*

[Article by Nila Krause-Kjar and Mikel Hartz: "Exorcists"]

[Text] The world is embittered. The Serbs are said to have raped at least 20,000 Muslim women in the former Yugoslavia. Thousands of unwanted children of the devil are the result. Rape is the newest weapon in civil war...or perhaps it is not?

This is a story about children of the Serbian devil. Little victims in a terrible war. The mothers are Muslim women who were subjected to systematic and widespread rape. The fathers are unknown Serbian soldiers, Serbian neighbors, or members of Serbian paramilitary formations.

This is a story about what is worse than death for Muslims. About internal camps where the rape victims are kept until it is too late to perform an abortion. About sexual mistreatment as a deliberate, terrible, and effective weapon in the terrible ethnic cleansing of the Serbs.

The new weapon has shaken Europe, which has not heard anything like it since the end of World War II.

The Muslim world is embittered. Hatred of the heretics, of the red Serbian nationalists, is on the rise. So is the demand for revenge. In the Western world, the condemnation is likewise great and becoming the kind in which newspaper headlines and statements by politicians turn stories about large numbers of rapes into solid facts.

The condemnations have followed one upon the other. No one asked for documentary evidence. No one asked the origin of the stories about the raping of thousands of women and about their unwanted half-Serbian children.

No one doubted who did it—who is the hero and who is the bandit. In the horrible chaos of war, many things happen which are never related, but likewise a great many things are talked about which do not happen at all.

Misinformation, rumors, and propaganda flourish. As always, truth is the first victim of war—in the Balkans, "live" on CNN and on the Sky-News.

### "A Good Story"

The story about the Serbian children of the devil was heard for the first time on 25 September 1992, when the BBC eavesdropping headquarters in Caversham, southwest of London, caught a program of Muslim Radio Bosnia.

The technicians managed to catch another story of a horror from the war-torn country: the story about special Serbian concentration camps and camps for raping women. This is what media people call a "good story."

The BBC people were not the only ones to spread the radio reports: Three days after the broadcast, a group of women from Zagreb sent an open letter to similar organizations in Europe and the United States in which they described a "series of statements" about "systematic sexual horrors" against women in occupied Croatia and Bosnia. The letter cited 16 rape camps.

These improbable stories about what was being done with women and children shook the entire world. Photographs of mistreated women and girls in tears made emotional appeals. So did the TV programs from the maternity ward of some hospital in Croatia which were shown countless times to illustrate the stories about the Muslim women who after being raped daily had become pregnant—and had fled from the camps only when it was late—when the child of the devil in their stomach was too big to be removed. The stories—and there were a great many of them—were very painful. After half an hour in a refugee camp in Croatia or in Bosnia, the correspondents of JYLLAND-POSTEN felt the strongest desire to leave and never come back.

We heard about little girls who had been raped, tortured, and left to bleed and die from the wounds. Muslim women said that they had been raped by former Serbian neighbors, and women, daughters, and mothers told how they had been raped while their husbands, fathers, and brothers were forced to watch. Those are the horror stories about the widespread rape and the rape camps. Often the same stories are heard about women who were imprisoned and abused for months, who had been gang-raped by three, eight, or 10 soldiers, or who were tortured by bottles, bayonets, and rifles. And then the worst and most shameful thing: the stories about camps where the Muslim women were imprisoned in order to give birth to the children of the devil. Not so that someone would satisfy his perverse desires, but as a part of the ethnic and religious cleansing of the former Yugoslavia.

### The EC In Action

Starting from the program of Radio Bosnia in September as the origin, the stories began to spread like rings on the water. In November, they reached the front pages of the large German newspapers DER SPIEGEL and STERN and the French LIBERATION. And as is always the case when the big newspapers begin, the others keep up with them.

The first article spoke about 30,000 Muslim rape victims. Shortly after that, the number of victims doubled. Someone even spoke of more than 100,000 victims. Stories about rape camps, about children of the devil, and about the most recent horrible strategy of the Serbs became an international story.

On 12 December of last year, those stories led 24 chiefs of state, presidents, and foreign ministers to send out an unusually harsh statement from the EC summit meeting in Edinburgh:

"The European Council is shocked by the systematic raping of Muslim women. It severely condemns these indescribable brutal acts, which are part of a deliberate strategy aimed at terrorizing the Muslim community in Bosnia-Hercegovina and at carrying out ethnic cleansing.... The European Council demands that all the camps—especially the women's camps—be closed immediately...."

The council also decided to send a delegation to the former Yugoslavia in order to study the situation and get at the facts.

But before the special EC delegation set out, some politicians of the European Parliament felt that it would be proper for them to also make some statement condemning the mass rapes. So, on 17 December 1992 the parliament declared among other things that "right in the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina there are several thousand imprisoned women and girls who have been systematically raped, and many of them are already pregnant...the camps are regular rape camps and death camps where rape is used as a tactic of war...." How did the European Parliament come to do this?

Where were these camps located?

How did the politicians know that rape was being used as a tactic of war?

Up to that point—except for more or less serious fragments in the media—only the Croats and Muslims had spoken out in such a persuasive manner about the atrocities.

Politicians know that women are raped in any war; that is how it is, unfortunately.

The difference in this war was allegedly:

- that the Serbian soldiers were raping Muslim women under direct military orders;
- that a deliberate military strategy lay behind the violence;
- that the Serbs set up specific camps where the atrocities were committed systematically and where the victims were kept until it was too late to perform an abortion;
- that thousands of unwanted children of the devil are the result.

That is how the charges run. It is not surprising that the Serbian leaders in Bosnia sternly reject this.

**Propaganda Warfare**

The Serbs call continuation of the accusations propaganda aimed solely at provoking international military intervention in Bosnia. And something that all the sides in the former Yugoslavia use—aside from hatred and violence—is propaganda.

"Many of those stories that are being heard and are being pumped up in the press without any kind of documentation are nothing more than political propaganda," says the Finn Roger Mialsen, a legal adviser to the EC Mission in Zagreb.

"I personally do not doubt that the Serbs are the biggest bandits in this war, but the Croats and Muslims can get by with anything. This is a clear and one-sided setup in which the women's organizations particularly and the German and Austrian press have the function of a military weapon of the Croats in this propaganda warfare," he says.

Hakan Liberg, representative of the Center for Peace and Conflict Research, believes that the rumors about systematic rape are in any case an important propaganda weapon of the Muslims.

"The Muslims in Bosnia want the support of the Muslim world; rumors like this can help them a lot." He deliberately refers to these as rumors.

"It cannot be precluded that they are true, but in any case there is no documentation. What we know is that rape is occurring on both sides in Bosnia."

No one knows how many women—Muslim, Croatian, and Serbian—have been tortured. The Bosnian Government in Sarajevo says that at least 60,000 Muslim women have been raped.

The Croatian Government says a minimum of 10,000—calculated as follows: 60,000 people were in the Serbian camps, half must have been female (of that half, one-third were most probably raped)!

The logic is perhaps all right, except for the detail that according to the figures of the Red Cross the Serbs did not have 60,000 people imprisoned, but "only" 11,000.

**Concern**

But the first independent report of mass rapes arrived on Christmas Eve from the EC delegation which politicians from the meeting in Edinburgh had sent. The delegation, led by Ann Warburton, traveled to Zagreb between 20 and 24 December, then to Geneva, and finally to Bosnia under protection of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force].

They searched and they found.

Even after the first leg of their trip, in Zagreb, the six-member delegation ascertained that the rape actually had been systematic and that this had been part of the military strategy of the Serbs. At the same time, the delegation estimated that so far at least 20,000 Muslim women had been raped during the war in Bosnia.

And now everything speeded up in the press. In Denmark as well.

Thus, the Croatian vice president Vladimir Tonkovic managed to avoid almost all the critical questions of journalists during his visit to Copenhagen on 12 January of this year. He said in a press conference that these stories in recent months should be taken seriously and that the Serbs are using rape as a weapon and that this is a horror of historical dimensions.

No demand for documentation. Not a word about the Croatian occupation in Bosnia, not a word about oppression, about the massive Croatian violation of human rights.

That is how the free press in the West works!

At the same time, competition is increasing to offer aid to Bosnia. Organizations such as the United Nations, Amnesty, Save the Children, CIA, CARITAS, Council of Europe, WHO, Red Cross, CSCE, and UNHCR have been racing one another to show their concern because of the raped women and their children of the devil. And, of course, they face the problems almost always created when large international organizations embark on a struggle.

"It is a real race who will be first to issue reports and statements," says Roman Wjeruzelski, a member of the UN Special Human Rights Commission for Yugoslavia.

"It is impossible to establish any kind of cooperation in this regard. We have tried, but it is impossible. They all want to win fame as the ones who took this most seriously.

"That means that 117 different commissions are visiting those same poor raped women and studying them and boring them with the same questions, which as a matter of fact is for them the worst thing of all this," he says.

**An Unfortunate Number**

Roman Wjeruzelski of the Human Rights Commission has no respect for those organizations sending people to visit Bosnia in haste. At least three weeks are needed to arrive at a serious assessment. One week to persuade the right people to say something. One week to talk to them, and at the end, a week to evaluate what is lies and what is possibly the truth, he thinks.

When the EC delegation visited the former Yugoslavia for the second time in order to complete its report, it first visited Zagreb from 19 to 21 January. Between 22 and 26 January, there were 17 emissaries in Bosnia. The last report was the same as the first: The rape is systematic and the number is estimated at about 20,000.

According to Ann Warburton, that number is perhaps a rather unfortunate move. "I would personally like to write 10,000-20,000. Perhaps we should not even have given a number," she now acknowledges.

But she is convinced that rape is a part of the military strategy of the Serbs. Libi Arsel, a Danish member of the delegation, a reader in clinical psychology at the University of Copenhagen, agrees with that assessment. She interviewed several of the total number of victims interviewed, which was six.

One 47-year-old Muslim woman told how the Serbs had come to the village. The woman hid her children and family in the cellar and sent the Serbian soldiers away. They returned several times to try to get her to leave the village. Finally—a week later—they raped her, while the family in the cellar heard everything. And then she left the village.

Libi Arsel thinks that this is a good example of systematic rape. "That was the Serbian way of driving her out. What is more, this is an older woman, whom the young Serbian soldiers would not rape if they had not been ordered to do so," she says. Libi Arsel goes on to say that the EC delegation received rather valuable information from the so-called local documentation offices, which, incidentally, are under the direction of Muslim groups.

Ann Warburton, spokesperson for the delegation, said that during their visit to Bosnia members of the delegation heard quite a few similar stories about Serbian soldiers who had taken villages, killed the men, gathered the women together and raped them while they all looked on.

"We assume that a rapist does not want to commit rape with onlookers. But the objective was to deliberately humiliate those women. So, among other things, we think that this is a clear military strategy," she says. And that is what the group wrote in its report.

**Guesswork and Nothing Else**

On Monday, Ann Warburton delivered her report to the foreign ministers of the EC in Brussels. The ministers observed that the report confirms their stern statements made in Edinburgh in early December. The conclusion, assessments, and decisions of the report therefore became official EC policy as of 1 February.

Fritz Kalshoven, a Dutch professor who teaches about the rights of government and human rights at the University of Leyden, heads a commission of experts which the UN Security Council sent to decide whether to set up a special court for war crimes after the war.

Kalshoven is seeking evidence. Not rumors and propaganda. And he feels deep indignation because of the involvement of the EC:

"Look at what happened in Edinburgh! First, they severely condemned the horrors, and only then did they send people to investigate whether that happened at all, in that order," he said.

"And those people then arrived at the figure of 20,000 women raped. We do not know how many of them have been raped. We have no idea. I have piles of reports on horrors that have occurred in the former Yugoslavia. We are putting all that in the data base in Chicago. Even if I had my estimate of the number of victims, I would not state it. That would be only guesswork and nothing else," Fritz Kalshoven says.

According to the EC report, it is "most likely" that 1,000 Muslim women became pregnant after rapes. The Belgian member of the delegation, Anne-Marie Lizin, state secretary of the Ministry of Europe in Brussels, obtained for herself good press coverage by publishing her own personal report.

**The Zagreb Story**

She is convinced that the real number is much larger. The report states that at least 2,000 rape victims became pregnant and that 300 women have already given birth and left their children of the devil. The many children of the devil expected has led married couples in the West to apply in large numbers to adoption organizations. In Denmark as well, where Hans Scheher Schmitt of Arhun, newly appointed general consul of Croatia, assumed that "thousands of unwanted children will most likely come of this." He therefore thinks that childless Danish couples can confidently celebrate.

It is obvious that no one asked the Health Ministry in Zagreb. That is where they keep statistics on all rape victims—including rape victims among the half million Bosnian refugees who are now in Croatia. Dr. Mladen Loncar of the research department told JYLLAND-POSTEN that the figures are not complete, some hospitals make statements only rarely, but that so far a grand total of 40 women have been registered as becoming pregnant following rape.

Four have already given birth, 20 are still pregnant, and 16 had abortions—for a total number of 40.

Perhaps this is only the "tip of the iceberg," as a Croatian doctor says.

Possibly.

It is true that Muslim women are inclined to keep rape and pregnancy to themselves when someone of another faith is involved. And it is true that many Muslim women have a long tradition of using abortion as protection. It is true that it is difficult to reject or prove anything in the former Yugoslavia.

Prof. Fritz Kalshoven:

"My task is to find the evidence in the name of the United Nations. But when it comes to rape, that is very difficult. Perhaps most difficult of all. People tell the most horrible stories because someone has asked them to for propaganda reasons or because everyone else is telling horrible stories. That is a part of the propaganda war." For now, the story about the Serbian children of the devil, which was born 25 September on Radio Bosnia, is like cold statistics in an office in the Health Ministry in Croatia: 16 abortions, 20 pregnant women, and four babies.

## Impact of Moscow-Washington Negotiations

*93BA0657D Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 19 Feb 93 p 14*

[Commentary by Aleksandar Nenadovic: "Russian Life Belt for Serbia"]

[Text] The joint entry of Moscow and Washington into the "negotiating process" offers the prospect that the sanctions will at least be moderated, but also requires unconditional abandonment of the war option and a consistently democratic evolution of Serbian policy.

No matter how restrained, and even superficial, it was, or seemed, the decision by the Clinton administration in favor of direct involvement opens up more favorable prospects for a political settlement of the Yugoslav crisis. Under the condition, of course, that two essential assumptions are realized. The first is that the connecting, monitoring position of the United Nations, incorporated into the Vance-Owen Plan, is not drawn into question. And the second: that there are no problem in relations between Washington and Moscow.

At the moment, this second assumption is at the center of attention, which is not surprising: Russian-U.S. relations are going through a delicate reexamination phase which should show to what extent the two strongest powers, of markedly unequal strength, are ready to balance their foreign policy interests. For Serbia, or rather the FR [Federal Republic of] Yugoslavia, this could be critical, although not because Belgrade is some sort of world center by its own right.

But there is a third factor: the overlap between the Yugoslav nationalistic contagion and essentially similar, or identical, traumas in the political structure of the new, independent Russia. And that in a way that limits its government's foreign and diplomatic maneuvering room precisely at a time when it is trying to get as much Western, primarily economic aid as possible, and as soon as possible. Without that, it cannot get the scattered, crippled machinery of the former Soviet economy moving from its standstill; even less can it stabilize itself politically in a country without a democratic tradition.

The Russian, and especially the "national-Bolshevik," opposition has discovered a good opportunity for itself in this bruising trial of already difficult reform. Playing the superpatriotic, pan-Slavic, and other melancholic chords, it has applied all its strength to striking out at the

Yeltsin government's foreign policy, assuming the role of defender of "our threatened Serbian brothers."

Forced to defend himself in the only way left to him, Yeltsin decided to make adjustments in Russian diplomatic practice, at the risk of forcing his Western partners into an even more serious dilemma. The more skeptical among them could be tempted to turn to the top rhetorician of Anglo-Saxon civilization, Winston Churchill, who depicted Russia as a "riddle within an enigma under the veil of a mystery."

Cautiously and gradually, but convincingly enough, the Kremlin began to inform everyone concerned, especially the Americans, that they must count on a public display of differences. And that is what happened, in two cases; both times, apparently, under pressure from domestic political necessities. When the opposition in the Supreme Soviet railed against the intensive bombing of Iraq, the official Kremlin immediately headed off this criticism in an attempt to curb its domestic political range. It is necessary, the U.S. partners were informed, to give more consideration at least to civilian victims.

When the opposition demands that the pressure on Serbia be alleviated gained ominous political weight, the result was an even sharper adjustment of foreign policy operative priorities to the domestic political struggle. This went so far as a threat to impose sanctions on Croatia for the military attack on the part of Krajina controlled by UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force]. And finally, with the energetic support of Vance and Owen, Moscow probably had a decisive influence on the Clinton White House's decision to postpone, at least for now, any military encounter and to directly join in the "negotiating process."

Of course, all of this is still not irrefutable evidence that Moscow and Washington in their approach to the Yugoslav crisis have already worked out a firm compromise that guarantees the success of the Vance-Owen Plan, or that Serbian policy should not change its present course. The only change is that the announced, working cooperation between Washington and Moscow could open up a less thorny passageway for the Serbs as well, not excluding the possibility that the increasingly pernicious sanctions will at least be mitigated in the foreseeable future.

But let us not get ahead of ourselves. It is not impossible that things will get even worse before they start getting better, and here is why. According to everything that is known, neither the United States nor Russia will back off from two essential preconditions for lifting the sanctions. Both demand unconditional abandonment of any variant of both armed and political force in "resolving the Serbian national question." By definition, that presupposes a consistently democratic evolution of Serbia and its policy.

The misfortune is that the prospects for such a transformation in Serbia are becoming poorer than ever before. And this at the very moment when the international persuasiveness of the official Serbian peaceloving policy depends increasingly on the extent to which its domestic development is adapted to this basic need. The world that regards the Serbian government from this angle could, in despair, conclude that Serbian policy is pitted against itself.

Indeed, who could easily accept assurances that nothing is more important to Serbia than peace, justice, and democratic culture while all sorts of violence is spreading throughout it, from party-state usurpation to mafia-fascist orgies? Or, while its international activity relies on crude substitutes for diplomacy, such as the deadening, pseudo-patriotic campaign to fight the supposed world conspiracy, and on intrigue-filled flirting with Orthodox-Cossack opposition figures in Russia on behalf of the "planetary battle for the truth about Serbia"?

If it continues this way, Serbian policy will hardly be able even to count on the life belt that the Yeltsin government would seemingly be willing to throw to it—if the rest of the world agrees.

All in all, there is no evidence that the U.S. and Russian governments are arguing about whether, and to what extent, Serbian policy is wrong, even though they have different ideas about the responsibility borne by other participants in the war. It is more likely that the difference at hand concerns the response to the question that dominates a large share of the international community: What is the nature and scope of the changes in Serbia, and in what way could foreign powers contribute to speeding them up and expanding them in the interest of a peaceful solution to the crisis? Nevertheless, these differences, although increasingly significant, are not essential. In any event, they have not yet become insurmountable. Let us look at them more closely.

Under pressure from the still very hot-headed domestic public, the Americans appear to remain entrenched in the conviction that only a strong squeeze on Serbia, as the main instigator of the war crisis, will yield the desired results. Indeed, they noted this in one of the six points of their peace plan. At the same time, the Russians too are bothered by strong pressure at home, but from the other side of the political spectrum: against foreign pressure on the Serbs alone. The Yeltsin government is now responding to this by itself calling for greater attention to legitimate Serbian interests, in the hope that this course will have more of an effect on the conduct of Serbian policy. Washington is not hiding the fact that this worries them.

Bearing in mind the deterrent, contagious consequences of the Yugoslav crisis, which is shaking the entire Balkan region, the public display of differences concerning Serbia could become the greatest trial for the future partnership relations between the United States and Russia that were ceremoniously announced last year.

Surmounting these differences is all the more important for both sides. For the lesser power, even more so. For Serbia, most of all.

## Foreign Passports Used To Register Companies

*93BA0650A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 12 Feb 93 pp 28-29*

[Unattributed article: "The Call of Aruba"]

[Text] *Ten thousand people have contacted an agency that announced that for a fistful of dollars it could provide a passport from a country in the Pacific with which it is possible to travel around the world normally.*

In recent months, holders of the once popular red passport that could "drown" on any black market would like to get their hands on some other travel document that would allow them to travel around the world with less adventurous confusion and unpleasantness. That is why an agency that makes it possible to acquire so-called supplemental travel papers has been such a hit in Belgrade for days now; these papers are used in cases when the passport of a country is not looked upon favorably at border crossings. In relation to the significance of such travel documentation, the price is a mere trifle, because on the average several hundred German marks are required.

At "Studio B," which first reported on this, they say that since then half of all their telephone calls from listeners have related to this "case." In this way, the business already known around the world—how to get another passport—has come to our country through the front door, by way of the company "Worldwide Passport Service," a subsidiary of the "Altea" holding company.

Aleksandar Opacic, one of the co-owners, says, "There is a very limited quota. We have a license for only 100-200 passports per year from 10 or so countries in the Pacific and Caribbean basin, which should be a service for the partners of our private economic chamber. But so far around 10,000 people have contacted us, whom we are not realistically in a position to serve. That is why we have provided the media with detailed information, the price lists and addresses of agencies through which it is possible to acquire a second passport, as well as how to get dual citizenship or register an offshore company. One of these agencies is 'Expat World' in Singapore, with which we cooperate."

### Hong Kong Invention

The project that could be entitled "How To Get a Second Passport" legally (based on the publication of the same name that has already been reprinted several times in Hong Kong) has the remerger of that city-state with China in 1997 to thank for its success. Beginning in 1983, 17 countries in the Pacific basin sold Hong Kong residents the right to a second passport or citizenship, in this way making it possible for them to transfer capital in the future, in the event that after 1997 China continues to conduct business in the old socialist fashion. From that time on, this type of business underwent a boom and expanded to the Western market. Westerners found an advantage in this as well: As holders of passports from third countries, they avoided the exceptionally high tax rates in their own countries.

Thus, a number of countries that are under a UN protectorate or not even members of that organization are today earning solid annual income through the sale of travel papers. The holder of such a passport is not permitted to settle in the country in question, however, nor does he have any civil rights there. Such a travel document is used either in order to make it easier to get a visa from certain countries where, for example, Yugoslavia does not exactly have a good reputation (easier commercial and tourist transit), or in order to avoid taxes. A passport from the state of Aruba, which has only several thousand inhabitants, is used by around 17 million people. For $350, a large number of Swedes (around 40,000) have renamed themselves as residents of Aruba, although most of them have never even laid eyes on the island. The reason: Swedish taxes. With travel papers from Western Samoa, a former British colony, one does not need a visa to travel in countries of the Commonwealth, or the procedure for getting one is considerably easier.

### Only in England

Besides passports from the Virgin, Cook, and Easter Islands, Tonga, Guam, Trinidad and Tobago, or Benin, it is possible to get an additional travel document from "World Service Authority" [WSA] for less than $100. With a passport from this semi-humanitarian organization in Washington, visas from 20 countries can be obtained through an easier procedure: the United States, Brazil, China, India.... And it is recognized as a fully valid document in South Africa, Zambia, and Madagascar. For 80 years it has been frequently used by South Africans to make it easier to get visas, since at the time their passport was not looked upon favorably due to UN sanctions. Malaysian Chinese have traveled with them despite the government ban in their mother country—communist China. They have been used most frequently for commercial purposes by Israelis, traveling to Arab countries. Today they are bought most often by owners of offshore companies. It is also said of WSA passports that they were once very useful to travelers from Western countries for visits to the East because they are printed in Russian and Chinese in addition to English and French.

Besides the trade in "nonimmigration" passports, there is also another kind, which is more serious and much more expensive—for people who want to immigrate and gain citizenship on the basis of invested capital. The figures in this case are around $40,000 to $150,000. According to Opacic, however, no more than 15 to 20 percent of those who have contacted him are interested in emigration.

"For the most part we are approached by private businessmen who are having problems with importing because of the UN sanctions, as well as people who have received offers for business in foreign countries but who cannot go to them or even enter those countries. Since it is predominantly private businessmen who are interested in our services, we decided to offer them, besides information relating to passports, 10 or so addresses of leading agencies that specialize in setting up offshore companies."

And as far as passports are concerned, since "Altea," i.e., Worldwide Passport Service, is unable to provide the majority of interested people with the desired documents for the time being, they themselves will have to get organized and personally submit a request to an agency that has an agreement with the country whose passport they desire. Unfortunately, not one of them is registered in Eastern Europe, and they are easiest to find in England, which is almost impossible to get to right now.

## Serbia

### Draskovic Leads Protest Demonstration in Belgrade

*LD0903183793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1737 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Belgrade, March 9 (TANJUG)—Two police patrol car windshields were broken at around noon today when about a hundred citizens refused to allow police to arrest a popular street singer in central Belgrade.

The incident took place in Knez Mihajlo Street, near Republic Square where half an hour later the second anniversary of large antigovernment demonstrations was marked.

Around 500 people took part in today's protest. They were led by Vuk Draskovic, leader of the opposition Serbian Renewal Movement and one of the initiators of the 1991 demonstrations in which two people were killed and about 100 wounded.

Eyewitnesses said that the singer, Aleksandar Filipovic known as Alfi, had been bundled into a patrol car after he refused to stop singing. Filipovic sings songs about the struggle of the Serb people.

The rallied citizens protested by shouting antigovernment slogans popular from the 1991 demonstrations and hurling snowballs at the police.

A few people tried to block the passage of the vehicle. One woman fell in the scuffle and eyewitnesses said that her leg was injured.

The presidency of the Serbian Renewal Movement, the organizer of today's event, said in a statement on Tuesday afternoon that the movement had 'prevented the realization of the regime's plan and the action of the Yugoslav Army to provoke demonstrations in Belgrade,' which they said would then be taken as a 'reason to introduce a state of emergency.'

The Serbian Renewal Movement said that the plan was 'to provoke incidents and then the smashing up and closing down of private banks, for which the opposition would be blamed.'

The party 'duly adopted a decision not to organize any manifestations on March 9th' and thus 'avoided yet another dirty trap set for Serbia and democracy,' said the statement by the Serbian Renewal Movement.

### Milosevic To Reportedly Meet Vance, Owen in Paris

*AU0903180293 Paris AFP in English 1751 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Belgrade, March 9 (AFP)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic is to meet with the cochairmen of the Geneva conference on Yugoslavia during a visit to Paris on Thursday [11 March], Western diplomatic sources said Tuesday.

The Serbian presidency would not immediately confirm the report and the French Embassy, contacted by AFP, said it was unable to comment.

The Serbian strongman was expected to discuss the peace plan for Bosnia-Hercegovina which has been submitted by Lord Owen of the European Community and Cyrus Vance of the United Nations.

The plan has gone before the United Nations to end a deadlock on its implementation.

U.N. Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali on Sunday came out in favor of the use of force in Bosnia-Hercegovina if Serbs fail to withdraw from occupied territories in the former Yugoslav republic during the New York peace talks.

### Minister for Trade, Tourism Placed Under Arrest

*LD0903170293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1610 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Belgrade, March 9 (TANJUG)—Assistant Justice Minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Branko Ilic said on Tuesday [9 March], speaking about the arrest of Serbian minister of trade and tourism, that this was part of a strong anticrime action which covers all strata of society.

In a statement to TANJUG, Ilic specified that this was not a campaign, but a synchronized long-term action in which all state organs were taking part. Ilic assessed that the Serbian government would be sure to persevere in crime control and that what has been done so far is just the beginning.

Velimir Mihailovic, 40, minister of trade, catering and tourism in the new Serbian Government, was arrested on Monday and criminal charges have been raised against

him for suspicion of abuse of official position in order to obtain financial gains for himself and others. Depending on the illegally acquired gains, the sentence could be from one to ten years in prison.

The investigative judge set detention for Mihailovic, which can be up to 30 days, District Prosecutor Nenad Ukropina told TANJUG on Tuesday.

Ukropina confirmed that the case was directly connected with the recent arrest of Mihailovic's predecessor Sava Vlajkovic, who is also under investigation for abuse of official position.

Mihailovic was industry minister in the two previous Serbian governments from December 1991 until his present position.

Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic recently marked fight against crime as a priority task, and the new Serbian Prime Minister Nikola Sainovic also included it among the priority targets of his program.

### Blocked UN Ambulances Return To Base

*AU0903202193 Paris AFP in English 1936 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Mali Zvornik, Yugoslavia, March 9 (AFP)—U.N. ambulances returned to their base in Serbia Tuesday [9 March] after they were blocked from crossing into eastern Bosnia to evacuate wounded persons from a besieged Moslem enclave as fighting continued in the region.

For several hours Tuesday, a convoy of eight trucks converted into ambulances was held up in Mali Zvornik on the Serbian-Bosnian frontier "for inexplicable reasons," said Larry Hollingworth, a United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) spokesman in Belgrade.

The convoy, sent from Belgrade early Tuesday by the UNHCR, had been authorized to evacuate some 70 seriously wounded victims from Konjevic Polje, about 30 kilometers (18 miles) from Zvornik, the Bosnian town across the Drina River from this Serbian town.

But it was stopped on orders from the Bosnian Serb commander in Zvornik, who said he had not received the go-ahead from the Bosnian Serb military strongman, General Ratko Mladic, said Peter Halgumset, a U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) observer.

Serb forces searched foreign journalists in Zvornik and told the press that they had received orders "not to let anyone enter Bosnia."

Bosnian Serbs had "agreed in principle" Monday night [8 March] to allow the evacuation of the wounded during a meeting with General Philippe Morillon, UNPROFOR commander in Bosnia.

UNHCR spokesman Ron Redmond said in Geneva it was "too early to say" whether Bosnian Serbs had lied in promising the convoy escorted by two British armored vehicles safe passage to Konjevic Polje to take the wounded to Bosnian Government-controlled Tuzla.

The convoy blocked traffic for several hours Tuesday and provoked several heated incidents. A French protection force soldier was slightly wounded when someone in a civilian car opened up with automatic gunfire at the convoy.

Just ten minutes before this incident, the leader of the ultranationalist Serbian Radical Party had nervously blown his car horn before getting out and threatening to shoot a French soldier named Letouffeu.

"I am going to shoot you," said Vojislav Seselj. He repeated this threat to several other U.N. officers who were with the convoy.

In another incident, a UNPROFOR officer refused to obey Serbian police orders to park the trucks at a distant parking lot.

The convoy later returned to its base at Banja Koviljaca on Serb territory and was to make another attempt Wednesday.

A Bosnian Serb officer told U.N. representatives that the convoy "cannot go through because there is fighting in this zone." Artillery fire could clearly be heard coming from Zvornik.

In Geneva, a UNHCR spokesman confirmed that fighting in this area was blocking the convoy's passage.

The fighting has intensified amid a U.S. airdrop of food and medicine—which continued early Tuesday for the ninth night—to reach thousands said to be starving and trying to flee under a Serb blockade that has isolated some of the eastern enclaves since the Bosnian war started a year ago.

Early Tuesday, Bosnian troops launched a "generalized attack" from Lipovac, Brod and Brka in northeast Bosnia against Serb separatist positions near Brcko, Ulice and Grbavica, according to the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA, citing the Bosnian Serb military command at Brcko.

General Morillon, the UNPROFOR commander, was to visit the eastern Bosnian town of Srebrenica on Thursday to assess the situation at first hand, a source close to him said in Sarajevo.

Meanwhile, German customs near Hanover stopped a convoy of nine vans bound for Serbia. German authorities will investigate to determine if this convoy violated the U.N.-imposed embargo against sending goods to former Yugoslavia.

## SPS Denies Involvement in Bank Swindle

*AU0903213993 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] A news conference that was held in the headquarters of the city committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] at which Nebojsa Covic spoke about yesterday's statements by Mr. Jezdimir Vasiljevic, proprietor of the Jugoskandik bank, and accusations that he was demanded to take part in the so-called racket has just ended. Here is a report by Radovan Pantovic:

[Begin recording] Nebojsa Covic, president of the SPS Belgrade committee, first said that the reports that came from Budapest yesterday were full of ambiguities and contradictions. He made his expose conditional because, as he said, he did not know how trustworthy Jezdimir Vasiljevic's statements were. If they are trustworthy, then I shall respond primarily for the sake of truth. I never tried to extract anything for anybody or from anybody. Time will show whether this was an attempt to blame others for a business failure or an attempt of political discrimination. Whether Vasiljevic is a lone ranger or a weapon in somebody else's hand remains to be seen, Covic said. Regarding the statement that Vasiljevic financed his campaign, Covic said that he led no independent campaign and that the SPS has established sources of financing. He also said that an account for every dinar spent can be found in the existing ledgers. If it transpires that Vasiljevic did not say what was published, then I will call on journalists and editors who published the news to act responsibly. This is not a threat; I am simply trying to affirm the sense of responsibility. It is also possible that journalists and Vasiljevic were all exploited by somebody else.

Miodrag Vujovic, member of the SPS city committee and president of the Finance Commission, as well as Mr. Vasiljevic's godfather, confirmed that Mr. Vasiljevic made donations to the SPS and that he personally cooperated with Vasiljevic. Vujovic added that he does not believe that the owner of the Jugoskandic bank has left the country or that claims about the racket referred to Belgrade, as the initiative for cooperation with the SPS came from Vasiljevic himself. [end recording]

## Seselj Discusses Crime, Muslim Refugees

*AU1003092793 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Dr. Vojislav Seselj, president of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], visited the Drina River region today. He participated in the work of the Mali Zvornik communal assembly in which the Radicals won power in the last elections. Then he and the members of his party visited the left bank of Drina River of the Zvornik area. Dr. Seselj visited the Serbian fighters on the first lines of the front. POLITIKA correspondent Dusan Pejak has the details:

[Begin recording] Addressing the commissioners of the Mali Zvornik communal assembly, Dr. Vojislav Seselj said that the authorities should start combating crime. How serious this battle will be remains to be seen, but the beginning has been good. Ministers are being arrested; therefore, the fish is being cleaned at the head, where it stinks the most, Dr. Seselj said. We hope than in a day or two, as [words indistinct] ministers of the former Federal Government headed by Milan Panic, (?therefore, those) who robbed and stole the most, must be the first to be called to account, and then all the others, Dr. Seselj said and stressed that the authorities should not hesitate to prosecute crime, especially prosecuting criminals in their own ranks.

The SRS leader today also spoke of the great influx of Muslim refugees. Had the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] not been under the economic blockade and UN sanctions, it would be our moral duty to receive and look after these refugees. However, while we are under blockade we cannot provide for 50,000 Muslims. Of course, we will not take revenge upon these Muslim refugees or make life difficult for them in any way. We will simply deliver them to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and they can then find them accommodation across the great wide world. Alternatively, if the UN wants these 50,000 refugees to stay on our territory, then the sanctions and the blockade of the FRY must be abolished, Dr. Vojislav Seselj emphasized.

Afterward, Dr. Vojislav Seselj visited the Serbian fighters on the first lines, 15 km away from Zvornik, in former Bosnia-Hercegovina. In the discussion with the reporters he stressed that the entire world should realize that new borders on the territory of former Bosnia-Hercegovina can only be drawn along the lines of the front and in no other manner. The Serbs never succumbed to anybody's threats, and also on this occasion the Serbs will remain calm, composed, and ready to face all challenges, Dr. Seselj stressed. The West must realize, and should be clearly told, that our policy will not be determined in Washington, London, Paris, or Bonn. Our policy will be created exclusively on Serbian soil. The Serbian nation remains yet another integral entity, and we have our joint Serbian fate that we will share together, Vojislav Seselj said.

The SRS leader today also visited the wounded in Zvornik hospital, among whom were Feris Kajic and Mujo Omerovic, members of Alija's army [members of Bosnia-Hercegovina Army]. [end recording]

## Milosevic Has 'Cordial Meeting' With Ryzhkov

*AU0903205893 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, received former Russian Prime Minister Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, who is visiting our country as a guest of the Serbian-Russian friendship.

In a cordial meeting, friendship and a special closeness of the Serbian and Russian peoples were stressed. Historical linkage [upucenost] of two peoples in the defense of their freedom and vital national and state interests were emphasized.

### Russia's Ryzhkov Favors Lifting of Embargo

*AU0903210193 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Mar 93*

["Excerpt" of interview with former Russian Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov by Simo Gajin in Belgrade; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Ryzhkov speaks in Russian with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] I think that an embargo is not the right method for settling political issues. One should sit at the table and discuss the major political problems, and not dictate by saying we will close the borders or let anything get through. Who are we in fact punishing? We are punishing people. Why should we be punishing millions of people. Should millions of people bear the burden of these difficulties?

Politicians should sit at the table and discuss these issues. This is my view. The embargo should not be eased, but lifted. One should sit at the table and discuss the issues.

### Reasons for Dismissals at RTS Seen Illogical

*93BA0659A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jan 93 pp 29-30*

[Article by Sandra Petrusic: "Scrambled Logic"]

[Text] It can hardly be disputed that Radio-Television Serbia's [RTS] 7,500 people represent a very cumbersome work force, especially if we take into account the ever smaller territory it serves. What is more, having 15.8 percent of its people on mandatory leave sounds quite logical only if we do not know basic arithmetic, which says that this decision saves RTS only 1.5 percent of its monthly payroll. This certainly is no significant sum for an organization facing financial collapse.

If we lived in a normal country and if RTS was like other television organizations in the world, that 1.5 percent might even mean something. But then certainly those laid off would not include the entire Executive Committee of the Independent (Nezavisni) Trade Union along with its president. This is a precedent not only in the rest of the world, but even in our country. Under the collective agreement which RTS signed, the president of the trade union and trade union officials may not be discharged or placed in an unfavorable position during their term of office, nor even during the succeeding two years.

There is yet another illogicality here. The people laid off are those who were most in favor of reorganization to improve efficiency and who issued a warning as long as two years ago, long before the sanctions, that the RTS financial policy was disastrous. Lazar Lalic, president of the Independent Trade Union, sees the purge in television as a superb way for the management to deal with bothersome witnesses.

"As long as two years ago, the Independent Trade Union warned that investments in the satellite program were disastrous. At the time when they began the project, Mitevic, who was director at the time, said in no uncertain terms that the organization would not incur any expenses whatsoever; on the contrary, that it would only have earnings. Everywhere in the world the government finances its own satellite program, and government television only provides the broadcasting. Here, the entire burden fell on RTS, which has been paying several million dollars at the expense of the work force. Today, the satellite program is about to collapse, but that began much before the sanctions. Over the last two years, the top leadership in the television organization has not managed to obtain the foreign exchange for basic production supplies essential to the organization's operation. RTS is no longer able to pay for leasing satellite channels, nor to obtain spare parts to keep the satellite station operating. One emission tube is about to go, the other has already ceased to operate, and a new one costs 50,000 German marks [DM]."

#### The Building Ready for TV

A television organization must have a fund of foreign exchange for replacement parts. RTS, of course, does not have one. The Executive Committee of the Independent Trade Union traced where the foreign exchange went. The result of the search was shocking. Hard currency went to build the new building of RTB [Radio-Television Belgrade] in Aberdareva Street. More space, but fewer people.... But logic died long ago in this case. The building's construction was paid for even before the work began. But the top television management rewarded the contractor (Ratko Mitrovic Construction Firm) on several occasions after that with additional foreign exchange!?

RTS also entered into other glamorous undertakings. It concluded a contract with a certain Mr. Nikolas Bulat to build cable television. The idea was to cover almost all of Serbia, and Mr. Bulat put up $400,000 for that purpose. The project never got off the ground, because RTS could not finance its part. Bulat logically initiated an international court case. The Independent Trade Union then warned that it would be better to make some kind of settlement and avoid a court case that was lost in advance. The top television management thought differently. It hired three law firms: one in Belgrade, a second in Geneva, and a third in London. They paid the firm in Geneva 80,000 Swiss francs in advance, and the one in London 30,000 pounds. Further court costs ensued. The funds for this purpose would be furnished from the 20-percent reduction of the salaries of workers on mandatory leave.

But where was the top television management going to get the money to finance "scrambled television"? That is now perhaps the biggest secret.

In any case, that strange word "scrambled" means "coding the broadcasting to protect it so that the broadcasting can be received only by those who have a special device in their television sets."

"RTS must install that device gratis for all its regular subscribers. The entire project costs at least DM2 million, and the question is how it will pay off," says Lazar Lalic. "The scrambling will be done only in areas which certain repeaters overlap, that is, in areas with quite a low population density, while the cities will remain uncovered, and it is well-known that most of those who do not pay their subscription are in the cities."

We hear more and more frequently, unofficially though, that if the technical capabilities allow, all programs will be scrambled except the news program.

So, the members of the Independent Trade Union are being hurt for the most diverse reasons. But: "The criterion of quality and professional competence has not been respected anywhere," says Irena Milosevic, picture designer and member of the Executive Committee of the Independent Trade Union. She gives herself as an example: She is on mandatory leave, and her place has been taken by a worker just hired through Dedinje, a firm for hiring unskilled manpower. "I do not understand a project to improve efficiency and organization in which I am on mandatory leave and receive 80 percent of my salary, and my place is taken by a man who is not a picture designer, but who receives the entire salary."

**Afternoon Rest**

Along with members of the Independent Trade Union, the specialized department handling imports was also affected. At the time when the problems with foreign exchange began, an order was issued that in future payment would be made in dinars and everything would be transferred to the domestic purchases department. The consequences are as follows: Now, materials needed from abroad are purchased from various firms which are paid a commission for an unspecified amount of foreign exchange, and customs duties of 35 percent are also paid, although RTS is exempted from customs for production supplies or pays only 16 percent.

"The consequences of this decision are beyond reckoning, the RTS has lost the entire reputation it had with its business partners over many years—the firms Fuji, Kodak, and Richardson—from whom at one time we received goods on deferred payment, and from whom we can no longer obtain anything because of the immensely large debt. The production program depends entirely on the purchasing of replacement parts and production supplies from abroad; the firms from which we were obtaining them no longer want to work with us, but without their products RTS cannot operate," says Lazar Lalic.

The RTS management obviously does not think so. It has purged its ranks of the "technological redundancy," and enriched itself by more than 200 new workers, among whom there is hardly anyone from the group of this institution's long-standing outside collaborators.

But even in RTS the facts might be portrayed as "stubborn." Two years ago, personal incomes were paid in money which did not come from subscription revenues, but at that time subscription revenues represented 80 percent of earnings. Today, however, 40 percent of this organization's total revenues go for wages and salaries. Can any help at all be obtained here from Milutin Popivoda, a marketing expert from Novi Sad, for whom RTS provides an automobile to take him back and forth to Novi Sad and also pays for his afternoon rest in the Hyatt Hotel? That is hard to believe. It is easier to believe that the experts are busy doing something else.

## Financial System of RTS Called 'Monstrous'

*93BA0659B Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 19 Feb 93 p 8*

[Article by Aleksandar Petrovic: "The Monster Called the RTS [Radio-Television Serbia]"]

[Text] "Scrambled Logic" (NIN, No 2196) is one of the rare articles in which an attempt is made to see the other side of the moon: "The monster that bears the name Radio-Television Serbia [RTS] is spoken of in that article not only as a political monster, but also as a monstrous financial system from which money leaks like water through a sieve."

Allow me to add the following to the information contained in that article:

1. Radio-Television Serbia is one of the largest financial systems in Serbia. Every year, an immense number of billions circulates in it.

2. Most of that money goes into the RTS cash drawer from subscriptions, and subscriptions are a kind of tax.

3. A tax makes sense if the revenues collected are used to finance services of general importance, the government and local administration, the army, the police, social welfare, and, say, partially even cultural activity of national importance. Tax revenues can sometimes be used for corrections in the country's economic development in cases when the disproportionate development of certain sectors of the economy is threatening the nation's economic and governmental interests, but it is much better and more sensible to do this with interest rate policy and tariffs.

In the case of television, the tax might be used, say, to maintain the basic technical system, the repeaters and transmitters, which undoubtedly have importance to the country's defensive capability as well.

4. No government, however, has the right to use the system of taxation to finance political advertising for any

party or for light entertainment. And that is exactly what is happening with this system for financing Radio-Television Serbia.

5. I know from experience that those immense amounts of money which speed through the RTS every year are handled without much thought. I also know from experience that the control of expenditure of those funds is utterly inadequate.

I also know from experience that the RTS has no obligation whatsoever to return the money invested in one year in the second, third, or fourth year.... Budgets are drawn up for one year, and the money spent falls into oblivion, but sometimes into other places as well.

And now for my altogether precise experiences:

I am astounded that the author of the article "Scrambled Logic," which does cite some examples of bad management, did not include the example of the "Resettlement" project. Yet this is one of the most horrible examples of what can result from autocracy and concealment of expenditures from previous years in subsequent years.

First, the most important: For three years now, a two-hour feature film with great commercial performances has been completely ready. Radio-Television Serbia is not showing it—it has banned it, although its content has great cultural, political, and national importance.

Had the film been shown on the world market, that portion which belongs to the RTS would so far have brought it between $1 and $3 million of revenues (well-known European stars play in the film, and I wrote the scenario and directed it). Still more serious: Radio-Television Serbia is not finishing the 70-percent-completed TV series "Migrations," which, by all appearances, has still greater commercial promise than the film (on the basis of the material it has seen, the French channel FR-3 alone wants to buy the series for $3 million to show on French television!).

One asks himself—How is that possible?

Well, it is possible when RTS is accountable to no one for the money which it spent on the project "Migrations" in the years 1987 and 1988. Those expenditures were in the budget for those years, they were covered from subscription revenues, that is, the tax, for those years. In subsequent years, new tax revenues were collected, and no one asked anyone about how the money from those previous tax revenues was spent and why the figure put down for investment did not turn up the next year under the heading "collected."

There is something still worse:

The present way in which RTS is financed also favors major irregularities. In the case of "Migrations," for example, RTS signed two extremely injurious contracts with foreigners. The first contract ceded all its world rights to an insolvent foreign firm without a bank guarantee. The second contract paid a second foreign firm $500,000 completely unnecessarily, and left it in debt another $1.5 million to it for a debt which RTS had nothing to do with at all. RTS signed the first contract with the firm Obadia Production. This firm went bankrupt in May 1990, and today no one can find the address of its owner, Ivan Obadija.

On the basis of the first contract, if the situation with the project "Migrations" should one day be unraveled, RTS will have a great deal of trouble preserving its share of world rights to that project, because RTS, out of simply monstrous negligence, allowed the period of time to expire for registering among the creditors.

RTS signed the second contract with the firm Imeg France, whose property consists only of a post office box in Rue Saint Florentin in Paris. On the basis of the contract with that phantom firm, $500,000 of money representing the tax paid by television viewers have already vanished, and by way of a pledge for the remaining false debt of the RTS in the amount of $1.5 million that firm has obtained an injunction against the showing of the TV series and film throughout the world and it is holding under a court order the material of the "Migrations" project in the laboratory of the LTS in Paris.

I recall that the "Migrations" material was blocked once before. It was blocked by another phantom firm—Adriana. That blockade has been lifted in the meantime (how—we will leave that for another occasion), so that in the year of the 100th anniversary of Milos Crnjanski's birth, the film and series of the magnificent novel *Seobe* (*Migrations*) are imprisoned by the court exclusively because of a false debt of the tax-financial monster of Radio-Television Serbia. (There is the following note about that film, although it has not yet been shown in public, in the most recent edition of LAROUSSE: "Lyric-epic fresco concerning the history of the Serbian people.... The Serbian *War and Peace*....)

But how could all this have happened otherwise when officeworkers with a secondary education occupied some of the most important management positions in RTS even before the shooting of "Migrations" began, and some of those 7,000 "television moguls" were sounding a false alarm: The "Migrations" crew was "squandering" money.... The director's fee was $500,000 (that figure really caught my eye!).... I am afraid I must disappoint them once again, both them and all others who are curious, my foreign fees for the entire "Migrations" project amount to $200,000 net, which have also vanished, because that is approximately the 10-year salary of a conductor in the Paris subway, and I worked 12 years on "Migrations."

Instead of giving vent to malice and seeking an alibi for their own idleness, they ought to be taking control of their own directors, that is, the tax collectors.

## Belgrade University Students Face Hardships

*93BA0664B Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 20 Feb 93 p 13*

[Article by Ivana Gradisnik: "I'll Graduate and Then I'll Emigrate"]

[Text] As if Belgrade students did not have enough difficulties, there is a lack of food, hot water, heating, and electricity in their dormitories. Of course, it is most unusual that in spite of the impossible conditions in which they have to live and study, Belgrade students are still remaining quietly in their rooms.

It seems that their patience is unlimited. Slavica Jovovic, editor of the Index student radio station, said the following: "For the time being it is hard to say whether Belgrade students will go into the streets or not. It is true, though, that in recent years students have been stimulated to demonstrate by political issues, and never by their status or social problems."

If hunger, cold, and violence cannot bring Belgrade students into the streets, the nonappointment of Prof. Rajko Vracar as university rector could. Prof. Vracar, the rector to date, namely has the support of 99 percent of the Belgrade schools, but because of his support for the students in the June protest, he is quite unpopular with the Serbian government.

If he succeeds in rousing the students to protest, that will just be proof that the apolitical nature of Belgrade students obviously ends where the Serbian aggression, the war in Bosnia, shells, and death cease.

Belgrade students' feeling of helplessness and loss of self-awareness and optimism, of course, could be rectified by a strong and effective student organization. There is none in Belgrade and Serbia, however. There are currently five student organizations in Belgrade. The Federation of Belgrade Students has the government's support, the Student Interschool Organization is a former part of the Federation that split off a year ago because of disagreement with the policy of the Federation's president at that time, the Independent Students' Club has emerged from the SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement], the University Democrats' Club is publicly and officially working with the Democratic Party, and the Student Parliament emerged as a result of the June student protest and publicly supported Panic.

With effective cooperation these five student organizations, in spite of their ideological antagonism, could at least make life easier for Belgrade students, if not unite the entire student population into a strong and homogeneous entity with common interests and goals. Unfortunately, there is no cooperation of any kind among the student organizations. The regime's Federation of Students deals with all the issues of vital importance to the students, and the Ministry of Education and part of the university's leadership have intervened in talks about transferring some ministry issues to the other student organizations. The question is also how long the student organizations (except for the Federation of Students) will even be able to hold out. Their membership is unknown and unrecorded, and along with their financial instability, they are also politically undesirable.

Belgrade students have thus been left to the mercy of the Serbian authorities without any backing. The result is immorally high prices for special and postgraduate studies, which have become virtually impossible in Serbia's current economic situation. There are more and more students leaving for foreign countries. The rest are trying to graduate as soon as possible and have at least a diploma to take with them. In January and February, the most tests in the entire history of Belgrade University were probably taken. In Belgrade streets, students carry wear badges saying "Just let me graduate and I'll emigrate."

It is also possible to understand the Belgrade students' patience, however, when you see how students live in Pristina. In the Pristina student quarter there is no heating, portable heaters are prohibited, and often there is no electricity either. There is hot water twice a week. In some places there are no windows in the bathrooms, the lavatory sinks are broken, and the students themselves have to install floors, wallpaper, curtains, and any lights in the rooms. There is no bread for breakfast, and at lunch the Pristina students even receive uncleaned chickens.

Srecko Jovanovic, president of the Federation of Students in the Student Quarter, said, "The Federation of Students will try to improve students' standard of living, but we are not counting on anything concrete. We students understand the political situation in Serbia, which does not mean that we are prepared to settle for anything below a certain minimum of our rights." Unfortunately, Srecko Jovanovic, in his carpeted room, equipped with armchairs and a room light show, has not yet noticed that for some time now the Pristina students have been living below that minimum that he mentioned.

There are almost no Albanians in the Pristina student quarter and in the schools. There are about 10 in the dormitories, who decided to study in Serbian. The others go to private schools. The Serbian students are still full of stories about various privileges, easier tests, and less rigorous criteria that the Albanians had in the schools. They claim that the Albanians left the schools themselves because they did not want to study under uniform study programs. The Albanians, of course, claim that they were driven out of the schools by the Serbs.

And thus students are departing from Belgrade and leaving the city without fighters, fighters for peace, and Pristina is preparing for a time when the schools will no longer be needed.

**[Box, p 13]**

Life in the Belgrade student dormitories is unbearable, to put it mildly. The authority in the dormitories is in the hands of a group of people who are on the side of the ruling regime, and are involving in reselling food and rooms. We heard that an organized group of Montenegrins was active in influential positions in the dormitories. The security service in the dormitories is poor, and the quarters are full of nonstudents. In addition to violence, beatings, break-ins into rooms, and rapes, recently there have been more and more drug dealers in the student quarters, and a short time ago there were even two suicides. How the (future) Serbian intellectuals study under those conditions, only they know.

## Firms' Ways of Coping Under Sanctions

*93BA0652A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Feb 93 p 16*

[Article by Andjelka Cubrilo Kusovac: "Less and Less Expensive at Avala"]

[Text] "A few years ago, a firm, it does not matter now which, owed us quite a large sum of money. And it simply would not repay us. Then we sat down with the responsible people from that firm and reached an agreement to mutual satisfaction: They would pay off the debt to us with their products, which incidentally were industrial products. That is how it began," replied Djordje Askovic, general director of Avala D.D. [Avala, joint stock company]. "Oh, yes, the question was why on the shelves of the paper factory's three discount stores there were not only paper products, but so many foodstuffs, technical items, clothing, and footwear?...

"What was done first out of necessity later became a useful practice," Askovic says. "Both for us and our debtors. And, you know, equally for the public as well. After all, all goods are sold from our three discount stores cheaper than in other stores, sometimes even at half the price."

### Soap Only 662 Dinars

But, the general director of Avala D.D. believes, it is best to give specific examples. For instance, shirts which until recently were sold in these stores at a price of 14,000 dinars cost more than 50,000 dinars in the city. Toilet soap is still cheaper compared to "downtown": instead of 4,000, only 662 dinars! Belgrade women have been buying stockings at Avala at a price of 5,000 dinars, while those same stockings, Mirabel brand, cost all of 20,000 dinars in any store downtown. Even Kostana's shoes, modern style and design, cost 66,000 dinars in the discount store, while they cost four times as much in Belgrade.

Those who buy a Logo 3 TV antenna in Avala's discount stores also save quite a bit of money, because it costs 72,000 dinars there and all of 392,000 dinars elsewhere. A 70-watt vacuum cleaner purchased in an Avala discount store costs half as much, while Obod washing machines are sold at a price of 800,000 dinars instead of 1.45 million, which is the price downtown.

Both chocolate and coffee are cheaper. Chocolate is selling for 420,000 dinars per kilogram, coffee at 45,000 dinars [as published]. Milk and dairy products are 5 percent cheaper, and meat as much as 15 percent cheaper. Household appliances are paid for in two installments if the bill is over 150,000 dinars and in three installments if the amount exceeds 250,000 dinars (in both cases, without interest).

"In opening these stores, we indirectly solved the other problem of employing workers who were technologically redundant. And there are such workers, because the machines in our production line are modern and computerized and do not require many people to run them," Askovic explains. "On the first 'go,' jobs were created in the trade sector for 59 people. We are planning to retrain another 130 people for the sales force. That way, no one will lose his job. Incidentally, in our factory we have had no interruption of production, nor have we sent our people out on mandatory annual vacation. And we have a work force of 920."

Some of the 130 workers mentioned will find new jobs in the Avala Department Store in Lajkovac, whose opening is scheduled for 18 February, some in the department store already built on the grounds of the paper factory in Belgrade (opening expected in March). The earnings realized in this way, and this is cash, will be used to purchase foreign exchange, equipment, heavy fuel oil.... Incidentally, if all the money earned in this way were used exclusively to pay personal incomes, every month it would cover 1.5-fold the gross monthly payroll. That is not to be underestimated.

### Diapers Under an American License

The money, however, is also being invested in new production plants. For a building with an area of 2,500 meters [as published] where they will make the basic raw material for the production of toilet paper, facial tissue, napkins, and diapers; the infrastructure has been built, the boiler plant, and power and industrial water supply have been provided for. More money is needed to complete this project, and when everything goes into operation in the new shop, they will be able to make the scarce baby diapers right here in the country under a license from an American firm, according to Askovic, which are second in the world in quality. Provided, of course, that the blockade comes to an end.

Other evidence that everything has been subordinated to production here lies in the fact that we talked about the paper factory's business operation in the cool shade of Askovic's office, and we mean that literally. No office or production building is heated longer than two hours in the morning and sometimes the same length of time just

before the end of the workday. The heavy fuel oil costs Avala 50-60 million dinars a day. That is why it is conserved for production.

What until recently was the worker restaurant has also been put at the service of production. It was hurriedly adapted as a production room where in future they will process scrap paper which is now being purchased. There are also other new programs which will make it possible for Avala to survive in spite of everything.

Specifically, the other day one such program was promoted for the production of napkins, which after Paloma "left" the Serbian market have become a scarce commodity. Then there is kraft cardboard packaging, fine commercial containers (boxes for drugs, tea, cookies and crackers, shoes, chewing gum, toothpaste...). Until recently, books were also printed within Avala in the plants of Stampak. Now, some of those machines are used for making paper bags, notebooks, drawing pads, graph paper, and the blue envelopes that are known far and wide.

And even though it is cold in the production shops, and there is not even a hot meal (the director says that those who are working are not cold, and as far as lunch is concerned, they can all lunch at home just like he does), new machines do crop up in the factory. Usually, the work of innovators employed in Avala Ada D.D.

It is also our duty to mention that this collective is one of the winners of the annual prize of the Yugoslav Chamber of Commerce for results achieved in 1992.

### Turbine Rotor Production With Russian Partner

*93BA0652C Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Feb 93 p 14*

[Article by M. Cebalovic: "Gosa's New Production Program"]

[Text] At one time, after the announcement that Gosa would organize production of components for steam turbines installed in Serbian thermal electric power plants of the EPS [Serbian Electric Power Industry], the question arose of whether "the turbine rotors for TENT A, produced by LMZ [Lenin Metal Plant] of Petrograd, could be repaired?"

"They asked us that last June, and here now, after a great deal of work, we have informed the EPS that we can do that. We are waiting to see whether they will accept our offer, which is the only one. We hope that the signing of the contract on this job, which is worth about $1 million, will also signify the beginning of production of such components in Gosa's factories," said Slobodan Joncic, marketing director in the holding corporation in Smederevska Palanka.

The rotors for the 210-megawatt turbine are, of course, waiting to be "refurbished," and, if necessary, take over the job, while those which have replaced them are doing good work.

"We delivered the offer on 3 February, along with the firm LMZ of Petrograd and Termoelektro Ceneks of Belgrade," Joncic explained, "but Gosa will be the general contractor. We have signed two letters of intent on cooperation with the Russian partner, and after the second, signed 2 February 1993, there are no dilemmas whatsoever—our factory has both the personnel and the equipment to make most of the parts that are needed and which up to now have been made in Petrograd. The management of LMZ has visited Gosa, has seen what we are doing, and has said that we can do it."

This is the first time that there was discussion of moving some production to Gosa and of business not only for the Serbian Electric Power Industry, but also about similar arrangements in nearby countries where Russian turbines and equipment are generating power. And they are in Greece, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary.... Gosa is not ready and has no intention of making the blades, it has neither the equipment nor the experience. It will take seven to eight months to repair the rotors. The Russians, if they were to do it, asked for a period of five months, which indicates Gosa's readiness, Joncic said, adding that they have received assurances from the top managers of the Obrenovac Power Plant that Gosa will also receive important consideration when future jobs come up.

From what he told us, Gosa will find out whether it has obtained the contract in the second half of February, and the deadline for signing the contract is 30 March. Who is going to pay Gosa and its partners, because the EPS no longer knows to whom to turn and to whom it owes more? we asked Joncic.

"Current payments by EPS to Gosa which have come due amount to $6 million, and they owe us about $20 million for equipment delivered earlier. We know how much they can pay and that when they pay a few million dollars, that will be against certain earlier debts. But we want work that will open the door to us for new business, and we do not need to think very much about EPS's ability to pay at the moment. Gosa has survived even without those $20 million," replied the marketing director of the Gosa Holding Corporation.

### Copper Pipe Factory Awaits Lifting of Sanctions

*93BA0666D Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Feb 93 p 21*

[Article by I. Teleskovic: "How Majdanpek Copper Pipe Factory Is Waiting for Sanctions To Be Lifted: European Standard for European Market"]

[Text]*In the words of factory director Mirko Petrovic, the time of the blockade must be used to introduce standard ISO 9000, because that is the only way to enter the market of a unified Europe.*

Majdanpek, Feb—Even during the days of "that Yugoslavia," the Majdanpek Copper Pipe Factory [FBC] suffered the consequences of exporting inferior products to the European market.

To recall the situation: At the time, this major exporter (8,000 metric tons of copper pipes annually) was prohibited from exporting to the German market because German experts discovered that the copper pipes contained as much as 0.4 percent more carbon that what is specified in their standard. Otherwise, these same pipes that the Germans did not want on their market were accepted by the English, the French, the Italians, and other Europeans. Later, it turned out that there were political interests behind all this. However, the ban on exports to Germany was never lifted, and later UN sanctions were also applied.

"That is a period that we do not like to remember," says Mirko Petrovic, the director of FBC. "We invested 2 million German marks in new technology, achieved the quality level that the Germans wanted, but they made new demands. Things progressed to the point where we decided to insure our quality of production with Lloyd's of London. That is very expensive, but our earnings from exports make up for any such investment."

This factory has not been in operation since way back in June of last year. Bearing in mind economic considerations, workers have been sent on paid leave. They have figured out that it is more expensive to produce but warehouse the pipes. They produce between 30 and 50 metric tons a month for the domestic market alone, which accounts for two to three days of work, given the technological capacity. But they are at work on something because they feel that it is very important to the future of the enterprise.

"The sanctions cannot continue forever, and we are preparing to welcome that day with a shipment of pipes for export to Western Europe," Petrovic explains. "We are planning to introduce to our production European standards ISO 9000 to ISO 9004, which were formulated on the basis of British standard 5000. We are being helped in this regard by the Institute in Vinca. We feel that we are a step in the direction of official recognition of us by the corresponding control institutions in the West. That means that we can export immediately after the sanctions are lifted. We also intend to insure our quality under ISO 9000 with Lloyd's."

### Operation of Pharmaceutical Company

*93BA0666E Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Feb 93 p 21*

[Article by M. Momcilovic: "Four Decades of Leskovac's 'Zdravlje': Despite Everything, Good Business"]

[Text] *At present, the factory is utilizing 60 percent of capacity, which is enough to ensure that there is no shortage of drugs on the domestic market.*

Leskovac, 9 Feb—At "Zdravlje" these days, they are just now adding up the figures for last year, but a positive balance is expected. At the beginning of last year, there were contracts for export totaling around $30 million, and if it had not been for the sanctions this would have been the largest amount of exports for the Leskovac pharmaceutical firm ever.

Despite this and other major difficulties, business has been good for the factory. Over the course of the year, the production of 25 new medicines was organized to replace those that we used to buy in Slovenia and Croatia.

One of the biggest problems at the beginning of this year was the lack of foreign exchange to buy imported substances. Nevertheless, "Zdravlje" has secured raw materials for the next six months, cosmetics and an aluminum packing material factory for three months, and a food program, a syringe factory in Medvedja, and a contact lens plant in Krupanj for the next six months.

In the words of general director Jovan Petkovic, the drug factory is operating at 60 percent capacity, because that is the limit of profitable operation. Last year's exports are not present now, and assessments indicate that this level of production will be adequate for the needs of the Yugoslav market. In addition, Petkovic points out that private companies are importing a certain quantity of medicines from Slovenia and Croatia through channels known only to them (without certificates and permits).

Depending on need, some plants are significantly busier. The disposable syringe factory, for example, is operating at 90 percent capacity, while the packing material factory is operating at 80 percent.

Petkovic emphasizes that "Zdravlje" has maintained proper relations with its foreign partners. Most of them have requested and received permission from their government to continue cooperation with "Zdravlje."

This year is also the anniversary of the Leskovac pharmaceutical firm—40 years of success.

## Macedonia

### Commission Attempts To Identify Crash Victims

*AU0903225693 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Members of the Macedonian republic commission that is trying to identify the deceased in the recent plane crash near Skopje's Petrovec airport were unexpectedly tasked with another chore—namely, trying to figure out which large amounts of foreign currency, gold, and jewelry belonged to which unfortunate passenger.

As we have unofficially learned, there was hardly a passenger aboard the aircraft that was not carrying large amounts of gold, German marks, Swiss francs, and other foreign currencies. A majority of the passengers in the aircraft that crashed last Saturday [6 March] were Albanians from Kosmet [Kosovo-Metohija].

## Montenegro

### Construction Firm in Moscow Despite Sanctions

*93BA0666C Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Feb 93 p 24*

[Article by P. Janicic: "Despite Economic Blockade: 'Prvoborac' Working and Building"]

[Text] The "Prvoborac" Construction Enterprise from Herceg-Novi is supposed to begin shortly on the construction of 2,000 apartments measuring 16,000 square meters in a Moscow suburb. This year's construction cycle in Herceg-Novi will begin with the construction of 28 apartments in Topla, near Herceg-Novi, for the needs of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia and for the market.

These are the latest business figures from the "Prvoborac" Construction Enterprise, which despite the sanctions and the economic blockade is managing to get more and more business abroad, especially in Russia.

"The orientation toward the foreign market will be the backbone of our activity in the future as well," says Dragan Boskovic, the general director of "Prvoborac" in Herceg-Novi. "We are sure of ourselves and of our own judgment, which is expressed and evidenced by the more than 150 highly skilled people of various specialties, ready and able to build the most complicated construction projects. We have been demonstrating this in Russia for years now, and they completely respect us. In Siberia we are currently working on two shoe factories, in Moscow on the Tatarstan Embassy building, while in Perm we are building a sports center—all to the tune of around $40 million. We have also signed a contract to build a major hotel and two other smaller inns in the capital of Turkmenistan (Ashgabat) worth $10.5 million.

"There is always a risk, because it is hard to predict what will happen over the coming period," Eng. Boskovic continues, when asked about the collectibility of payment for the work done. "I am an optimist. Moreover, I would like to say that thus far we have collected on most of what we have done, because we reacted in time. In Munich, together with a German partner and 'Agrovojvodina' in Novi Sad, we have our own company that helps us very much in matters of collecting payments and acquiring materials and equipment. It is important that the money 'flows' into our coffers."

Parallel to this business, "Prvoborac" has been carrying out an organizational ownership transformation. A number of workers have been retired and had their length of service bought up, so that the number of employees has been reduced from 2,000 to 1,300, of which thus far around 700 have been on projects abroad, with a monthly wage of $600 to $700, 70 percent of which is paid in foreign exchange.

### Economic Chamber President Interviewed

*93BA0666A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Feb 93 p 8*

[Report on interview with Vojin Djukanovic, president of the Montenegrin Economic Chamber, by Lj. Mudrosa and D. Vucinic; date and place not given: "Mafia Is Taking Control With the Help of the State"]

[Text] *At present, the president of the Montenegrin Economic Chamber, Vojin Djukanovic, hardly knows any of the members of the management board, or the chairman, at any enterprise across the republic. The former economic "giant" from the Niksic Iron Mills and "Javorak" as well as the Podgorica Aluminum Combine and "Radoje Dakic" is becoming increasingly destitute. Production facilities are shutting down one by one, and workers are being sent on mandatory leave en masse. Inflation is undermining all attempts to somehow maintain the workers' standard of living.*

Will this massive involvement by a representative of the state in business operations save them?

"The problem," President Djukanovic says, "at least based on my deep conviction, lies not only in the world sanctions, but also in our attitude toward them. From the moment when they were first imposed to this very day, the majority of ruling politicians and statesmen, and surprisingly a large number of well-known businessmen all over Serbia as well, have continually repeated that it is possible to survive under sanctions. And the fact that Radoman Bozovic, Vlajko Stojiljkovic, or Nikola Sainovic, for example, continually assure this unfortunate nation that the sanctions can also be a 'incentive' for vigorous growth in domestic initiative, domestic production, and domestic discoveries is plain nonsense. As is the argument and conviction that the state economy can develop on the basis of petty black marketeering, or on the basis of one or two ships with petroleum breaking through the armed barrier once or twice and forcibly sailing into Serbian or Montenegrin waters.

"Unlike the Serbians, Montenegrin politicians and businessmen, from day one," Djukanovic continues, "have known and said that it is not possible to do business not only in total isolation, but also not in a voluntarily closed economy, not in the short, much less the long run. The problem is that this has no effect on the prevailing Serbian thinking."

Djukanovic adds somewhat jokingly: "I am simply amazed at the Serbs. If so many responsible positions are being occupied by so many Montenegrins—regardless of whether they consider themselves Montenegrin or not—then why do they not at least ask that we hand over to

them sensible and professional people? We have such people, but for the most part they are not the ones leading Serbia and its economic and state subjects."

Then the president of the Montenegrin Economic Chamber continues seriously: "I dare say that Montenegro cannot be told what has been often laid at its door: 'If you are so sensible, then why are you poor?' Let us not forget that in 1990 this small Montenegro achieved a surplus of $90 million in international trade. It would have been much larger by now if it had not been for the sanctions, which have thwarted our good beginning in the import-export trade. The commitment to Sveti Stefan, for example, would certainly have brought Montenegro $500 million over five years. Only $38 million is needed to provide the entire annual basic diet in this area."

Vojin Djukanovic repeats that the basic problem thus lies not with the sanctions themselves, but rather with internal political scenarios and the blockades. With relations with the federation, for example. With the fact that the "Serbian authorities and their Assembly" do not actually even want Yugoslavia as a federation, regardless of what they have proclaimed verbally. "But Montenegro is not in keeping, neither politically nor economically, with the unitary state that the Serbians want to impose in every way. Nor will the people accept that with a sink or swim attitude. Of that I am convinced.

"That is why I will personally ask that the Montenegrin Assembly demand of the Serbian Assembly that it definitively declare whether or not it is actually in favor of a Yugoslav federation," says Djukanovic. "I personally think that it is not, and that is a basic problem. Precisely because unlike Montenegro, Serbia is not rescinding its republican laws or adapting them to the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] Constitution. Concerning territorial defense or command of the armed forces, for example. Or why the Serbian government, under whose orders the NBJ [National Bank of Yugoslavia] acts, does not ultimately prevent this printing of worthless money. If things continue like this, the annual inflation rate this year will be 200,000 [percent]. And what kind of economy can function under such circumstances?"

Djukanovic thinks that Yugoslavia's most urgent internal problem right now is the fact "that the Mafia, with the help of the state, is taking both control and money." It is plundering social capital through privileged private businessmen, whom the NBJ is eagerly helping with prime-issue loans. These businessmen then invest primarily in dubious dealings or in interest at "their" banks. Asked whether he knows of any concrete cases and people, Djukanovic responds that he knows of some in Montenegro, but that there are many more of them in Serbia. But, he says, the people at the National Bank of Yugoslavia know them much better. "Ask Governor Vuk Ognjenovic—he knows them well," says the president of the Montenegrin Economic Chamber, repeating once again that he says nothing, absolutely nothing, "off the top of his head" or without clear verification.

## Kosovo

### Paper Sees Situation 'Coming to a Head'

*AU1003103093 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Mar 93 p 11*

[Report by M. Laketic: "The Albanians Are Being Called To Resist"]

[Text] Pristina, 2 March—The increasingly frequent statements of Albanian party leaders in Kosmet, that it is literally no longer possible to breathe because of "Serbian terror," are turning into open threats to the legal state authorities, and even into appeals for resistance on the part of the people. Judging by statements made by leaders of the DSK [Democratic Alliance of Kosovo] and by commentaries published in BUJKU, SKENDIJA and ZERI last week, the situation is coming to a head.

While Fehmi Agani, Vice President of Rugova's DSK calls on his countrymen to "resist indulging the whims of Serbian policy and buying guns for surrender in order to save their skins in the alleged action to round up illegal weapons" [sentence as published], while not explaining who is supplying these weapons, Adem Demaci claims that "Kosovo is exclusively Albanian" and the "Serbian occupation is temporary." At the same time, Demaci refers to the action to round up illegal weapons possessed by the Albanians as being "the Rankovic [former vice president and secret police chief under Tito] period" and says that "the occupier's soldiers are using all methods to confiscate the weapons that some Albanians possess."

On the same topic, BUJKU commentator Rustem Rugova suggests in a commentary published towards the end of last week and titled "The Time for Illegal Resistance Is Over," that "the whole nation must be mobilized for resistance, because it is no longer possible to live passively." Although the author does not make it clear whether he means physical or verbal resistance, he lists, in chronological order, all the events that took place in Kosmet [Kosovo and Metohija] since World War II, and concludes that Gandhian resistance is a thing of the past. He goes on to say that "the phase of testing the people was carried out on 3 September 1990, when a general strike was organized."

The commemtary, written by Rustem Rugova, a relative of the self-proclaimed president of the Kosovo republic, goes on to say that "the policy of balancing and wisdom has been deffinitely finalized since it has the support of internationall circles." Therefore, claims the author, "a wave of violence in Kosovo will organize the people for resistance." The sentence does not end after the noun resistance, but is followed by three periods and the slogan from the title of the commentary—"The Time for Illegal Resisttance is Over."

Meanwhile, in last Saturday's issue, the editorial board of the same paper, irritated by the attitudes expressed by Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's President, Dobrica Cosic, in an interview for PARIS MATCH, claims that in the 19th century, after Serbia was liberated from the Turks, around 300,000 Albanians left the territory of so-called Serbia proper. In this national identification with the Turks, in a quote taken from Turkish President Turgut Ozal, it is claimed that more than 3 million Albanians living in Turkey today were banished by the Serbs. As a reminder to Cosic, the author of this historical "revelation," B. Kabasa, writes that "in this area, Serbs were never present as an ethnic group, but rather as rulers who ruled for a period of 104 years during the Middle Ages." If you include the occupation that followed after 1912, the Serbs still do not have a total of 200 years of rule. Therefore, concluding his answer to the president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Kabasa says: "Based on such logic, the Italians, with their Roman heritage, and Turks, have more right to Kosovo than the Serbs."

### Rugova, Berisha Discuss Situation in Province

*AU0903140293 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT Nr.46 in English 8 Mar 93*

[Unattributed report issued by the Democratic League of Kosovo: "President Rugova of Kosovo Meets President Berisha of Albania"]

[Text] President of the Republic of Albania, Dr. Sali Berisha, received Saturday [6 March] in Tirana President of the Republic of Kosovo, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova.

The situation in Albania and in the region was discussed. The two president assessed the situation in Kosovo as a very critical one, as the Serbian terror and violence against the unprotected population, and the quiet ethnic cleansing goes on with impunity.

The two presidents hailed the recent statement of the American President Clinton, which is a serious warning aiming at preventing a conflict outbreak and slaughter in Kosovo. Both presidents stated that Kosovo must be put under the UN and NATO control, adding that the reestablishment of the state and democratic institutions in Kosovo is indispensable.

### Arkan To Become Spokesman of Dafiment Bank

*AU0903141493 Pristina KOSOVO DAILY REPORT Nr.44 in English 4 Mar 93*

[Unattributed report issued by the Democratic League of Kosovo: "Arkan Back in Pristina"]

[Text] Zeljko Raznjatovic Arkan, member of the Serbian Parliament and member of the self-styled Krajina Government, accused of war crimes in Croatia and Bosnia and wanted by several European countries, appeared yesterday in Pristina. In a press conference organized by the owner of the Dafiment Bank, Mrs. Dafina Milanovic, Arkan said he was now appearing as a spokesman for Mrs. Milanovic, whose bank has sponsored his election campaign.

Arkan, commander of the notorious parliamentary gang called "the Tigers," coming back from the war fronts in Krajina confirmed that 7 of his "tigers" were killed in the Croatian front, whereas 30 of them were badly wounded. This has been reported by the local Serbian daily JEDINSTVO in Pristina today.

### Report of 'Intelligence Agents' in Province Noted

*AU0903142493 Pristina KOSOVO DAILY REPORT Nr.46 in English 8 Mar 93*

[Unattributed report issued by the Democratic League of Kosovo: "The Belgrade BORBA on 'Foreign Intelligence' in Kosovo"]

[Text] In an article written by Milos Antic, correspondent to Pristina, in today's BORBA of Belgrade entitled "Targeted by the Intelligence Agents," citing police sources in Pristina, it is said that "in the recent weeks Kosovo and Metohija, and especially Pristina, are a target of intelligence agents of many countries. Most of them come from Germany, Austria, Turkey, and Albania. The aim of most of them is to destroy the entirety and the territorial integrity in Serbia and provoking such provisions which would bring about a military intervention in Kosovo." The article quotes such sources saying that "the agents are coming as members of diverse parliamentarian and human rights delegations."

This is not the first time that the Serbian press attacks foreign delegations coming to Kosovo to learn the truth about the situation. It seems that they would rather like that no one knows about the state terror and repression organized by the Serbian state in Kosovo in order to accomplish the ethnic cleansing of Kosovo unnoticed.

### Serb 'Financial Police' Confiscate Albanian Goods

*AU0903163793 Tirana ATA in English 1131 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Tirana, March 9 (ATA)—The Serb financial police has undertaken a campaign against the Albanian owners of the enterprises in Peje, according to a report by the Democratic League of Kosovo Council of Information in Peje. A considerable number of inspectors from Serbia, who have begun checking up and confiscating goods of the Albanian owners, has arrived in this city. Nexhat Lajqi, owner of the Lajci firm, stated that food items worth 11,000 Deutsche [German] marks were confiscated in this period without documentation.

Meanwhile, a bus full of inspectors of the financial police from Serbia arrived in Decan. The majority of the private traders closed their shops after this.

### Committee Protests Killing of Albanians at Border

*AU0903161093 Tirana ATA in English 0917 GMT 8 Mar 93*

[Text] Tirana, March 8 (ATA)—The Kosovo Helsinki Committee sternly condemns the assassination of the Albanians by the Serb border authorities in the border area between Albania and Yugoslavia and protests against these criminals who further enhanced tension. The report of Kosovo Committee of Helsinki underlines among the other things that over the last three years 26 Albanians have been killed by the Serb border authorities. It reminds one of the syndrome of the assassination of Germans by the totalitarian border criminals near the Berlin Wall.

### Report on Impact of Sanctions on Local Economy

*LD0903190393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1508 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Text] Pristina, 9 March (TANJUG)—The construction of 280 industrial facilities came to a halt in Kosovo-Metohija because it is impossible to import building and other equipment due to the sanctions against Yugoslavia. This means that jobs for 100,000 young people have been lost.

The sanctions have hit the health service as well, so the extent of health care has been reduced by 50 per cent in Kosovo.

These figures were revealed today by the head of the Kosovo district, Milos Simovic, during his talks with charge d'affaires of the Danish Embassy in Belgrade, Antje Jensen [name as received], who is visiting Pristina.

As it has been announced, Simovic informed his guest, who was particularly interested in the state of economy and health care, about efforts made in the province to integrate the local Albanians into Serbia's political and economic developments.

### Rugova Presence in Albanian Delegation Denied

*LD0903193093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1519 GMT 9 Mar 93*

[Excerpt] Pristina, 9 March (TANJUG)—Fehmi Agani, vice president of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, today denied a report from Geneva that "Ibrahim Rugova, leader of Kosovo's Albanians, is a member of the delegation of the neighboring country of Albania which has been taking part in the 49th session of the UN Human Rights Commission since 1 March."

In his statement to TANJUG, Agani said that he does not believe this is true and added that it is probably a piece of misinformation.

Agani claimed that "Ibrahim Rugova has no dual citizenship; that is, he is not a citizen of Albania." [passage omitted]

## Vojvodina

### Vojvodina Chemical Factory Closes

*93BA0666B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Feb 93 p 23*

[TANJUG report: "Vojvodina Basic Chemicals: Sanctions Close Factories"]

[Text] Novi Sad—The economic sanctions against Yugoslavia have hit basic chemical factories the hardest and the fastest.

According to figures from the Vojvodina Economic Chamber, basic industry two years ago comprised nearly 13 percent of the provincial economy. Today, these are factories that are running "in neutral."

Of the approximately 10,000 people employed in basic chemicals in Vojvodina, only 2,000 workers are involved in production. An equivalent number of workers in that industry come to work every day for "hot maintenance" of equipment or to do administrative work. The others are on paid leave.

Officials at the Vojvodina Economic Chamber point out that in less than two years production in basic chemicals has been cut in half, since it is an industry that critically depends on the world market.

Since the middle of last year, the "Metanol" Acetic Acid Factory in Kikinda has been out of operation, as have four mineral fertilizer factories in Pancevo, Novi Sad, and Subotica.

For the first time in its nearly three and half decades of existence, "Petrohemija" in Pancevo was forced to "conserve" its equipment. There were breaks in operation in previous years, but they lasted a month or two. Now this modern factory has not been in operation for eight months, and according to all expert assessments, there are no prospects for resuming operation as long as the sanctions are in effect, even at minimum capacity.